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College and School News

Commencement speaker at **Howard University** on June 13, was Representative Arthur W. Mitchell of Illinois. Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, Howard president, delivered the Baccalaureate sermon.

Otto McClarrin, Howard publicity director, was re-elected national president of Delta Phi Delta Journalists Association at its fourth annual convention, held recently at Howard.

Sixty-nine high school seniors representing 19 cities in 13 states will share in the $10,675 freshman scholarship fund on the basis of their achievement in the Howard University Competitive Scholarship Examination administered by Field Agent A. J. Blackburn, and given to 1,000 students representing 128 high schools in 54 cities, in 17 states. The project was inaugurated by the College of Liberal Arts and the Office of the Secretary.

A gift of 1756 volumes of law books from the library of the late Attorney Max Steuer to the Howard Law School Library has been announced.

President Rufus E. Clement of **Atlanta University** presented diplomas to 30 graduates of the Atlanta University Laboratory High School on May 30.

Bishop W. J. Walls of the A.M.E. Zion Church delivered the Baccalaureate address on June 1 to the graduating classes of Atlanta U., Morehouse and Spelman Colleges, and the Atlanta U. School of Social Work. Pres. Raymond Asa Kent of the University of Louisville delivered the Commencement address to 69 graduates of Atlanta U. and its School of Social Work. The degree of Master of Arts was conferred on 39 persons, that of Master of Science on eleven persons, and that of Social Work on nineteen graduates.

Twelve instructors from leading educational institutions in the United States will teach at the ninth combined summer session of the Atlanta U. Summer School which opened June 9 for six weeks.

Bennett College held its third Summer Institute of Parent Education and Child Development from June 9 to 27. Dr. Alberta Turner directed the institute.

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At the 74th annual commencement exercises at **St. Augustine's College**, Dr. Harold L. Trigg, president of the Elizabeth City (N.C.) State Teachers College was the main speaker. Diplomas, certificates and degrees were given to 50 graduates.

The 74th commencement address at **Morehouse College** was delivered by Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson on June 3. Graduates included 39 bachelors of art and 13 bachelors of science.

On June 9, the 1941 summer session of **West Virginia State College** opened for a 9-week period with Dean Harrison H. Ferrell as director.

Prairie View State College began its 31st summer session on June 6. The first term ends July 10; the second term extends from July 11 to August 14.

At **Hampton Intitute** 234 students received degrees and diplomas on May 27.

James S. Moseley of the Trade School received first prize in a national contest, sponsored by Scholastic Magazine, for the most original airplane design drawing. He received $25 in cash and a scholarship at Carnegie Institute of Technology. There were contestants from 3,499 other schools.

Commencement speaker at Hampton was President J. R. E. Lee of Florida A. & M. College.

Hampton this summer is offering a 10-week course in flying, which would ordinarily cost $500, for only $45. The course began June 16.

The Henry Pfeiffer Estate of New York has given $50,000 to **Gammon Theological Seminary** to be added to its endowment fund. It is the largest single gift received by Gammon since its foundation over 50 years ago.

Prof. A. A. McPheeters, head of the department of education at **Clark College** was elected Dean of the institution on May 20, at a special meeting of the board of trustees. He succeeds James P. Brawley, recently elected president of the College.

Mr. McPheeters, a former teacher in the Lexington, Ky., public schools, is a graduate of Wilberforce and Cincinnati Universities. He joined the Clark faculty in the 1930–31 term.

The commencement address at **Spelman College** was delivered on June 4, by President Malcolm Shaw MacLean of Hampton Institute. Bachelor of Arts degrees were awarded to 46 graduates and Bachelor of Science degrees to 18.

Bachelor of Science degrees were awarded to 27 graduates at the **Cheyney Training School for Teachers** on

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May 30. At the Baccalaureate services on May 25, the address was delivered by famed W. C. Handy, Father of the Blues. The commencement address on May 30 was delivered by Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Senior Secretary, Colored Work, National Council, Y.M.C.A.

Xavier University graduated 123 students on June 3, the largest graduating class in its history. Dr. Felton G. Clark, President of Southern University, delivered the Commencement address.

At **Lincoln University of Missouri,** the commencement address was delivered by Dr. Channing H. Tobias, Senior Secretary for Colored Work, National Council YMCA.

Mrs. J. H. Randolph, president of the woman's auxiliary of the Lott Carey Convention was the principal speaker at the fifth annual **Shaw University** Ministers Institute and fourth annual Women's Leadership Training Conference held jointly at Shaw University from June 9 to 13, inclusive.

Several visiting specialists will teach in the **Howard University Summer School.** Among these are Dr. R. Clyde White, Professor of Social Service Administration, University of Chicago; Dr. John Louis Horn, Professor of Education, Dominican College, California; Dr. Helen McKintosh and Dr. Ambrose Caliver, United States Office of Education; and Dr. Howard Hale Long, Assistant Superintendent of Schools, Washington, D. C.

Twenty-five courses never offered at the University before will be introduced this summer. These are designed to meet the expressed need of social workers, school librarians, business executives, housewives, vocational and educational counselors, supervisors or teachers working on curriculum problems, and others not seeking a degree, but interested instead in personal improvement or professional growth.

Besides, there has been planned a three day conference on "The Participation of Negroes in the National Defense Program," to be participated in by governmental officials and members of the University faculty.

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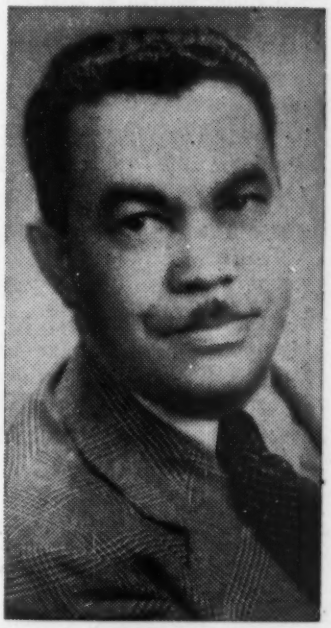

PAUL WILLIAMS

Celebrated Los Angeles, Calif. architect, who received the honorary degree of Doctor of Science at Lincoln university, Mo., June 10, 1941

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THE CRISIS *was founded in 1910. It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15c a copy. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879, and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

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NEXT MONTH

The August issue will be the 30th annual education issue of THE CRISIS. It will contain, as usual, a summary of information about Negro college graduates from Negro and mixed institutions. There will be photographs of graduates and news notes on honors and achievements in special fields.

There will be, also, the two winning essays in the high school and college divisions, respectively, in the recent national contest held by the Youth division of the NAACP on the topic, "What Negro Youth Expects from National Defense."

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Langston Hughes needs no introduction to readers of THE CRISIS. "One Friday Morning" is his newest short story, written especially for this magazine. His new book of poems, "Shakespeare in Harlem," will be published in August.

Sasha Small is the editor of Labor Defender, the official organ of the International Labor Defense.

Ernest E. Johnson, is a new writer in THE CRISIS. He has done newspaper work and lives in Brooklyn, N. Y.

U. Simpson Tate is an accountant for the United Federal Workers of America, CIO, and chairman of the Labor and Industry committee of the District of Columbia branch of the NAACP.

Editorials

Editor, ROY WILKINS
Advisory Board: Lewis Gannett, Arthur B. Spingarn, Sterling A. Brown, William Allan Neilson, Walter White, Carl Murphy, John Hammond

Above the Constitution: For Bob White

ON Tuesday, June 10, Bob White, illiterate Texas farm hand, found out what many people, black and white, in the South know—that a super-government exists south of the Mason and Dixon line, more powerful than the United States of America. The Constitution of the United States may apply to other sections of the nation, but not here. The Bill of Rights may be for the North, East and West, but not for the South. The supreme court of the United States may interpret the law for others, but not for Dixie.

For on June 10, despite the fact that his conviction on a charge of criminal attack had been reversed once by the Texas court of criminal appeals, and once by the United States supreme court, Bob White was executed—*in the courtroom where he was sitting for his third trial.*

White was shot to death in plain sight of the judge, jury, guards, and other court officers by W. S. Cochran, wealthy husband of the woman White was accused of attacking.

Cochran is reported by all observers as having entered the courtroom carrying a gun in his hand, walking up the aisle to the railing, leaning over to within one foot of the defendant, Bob White, and firing a shot through the latter's head, killing him instantly.

As a fitting end to this drama of Dixie "justice" Cochran surrendered himself to a personal friend in the courtroom, who was also special prosecutor against Bob White, and was released in bail of only $500.

What can be said about this crime that the deed itself does not shout to the world? Perhaps the most obvious comment is that here, in capsule form, is the kind of thing the government of the United States has denounced to high heaven before the world. Here is the operation of a system which we as a nation profess to loathe as it is practiced by Hitler.

Even if it be granted that a man's honor demands, in certain circumstances, that he act, there is no justification for this outrageous killing. For there was no incontrovertible proof of Bob White's guilt. A Texas court had reversed his conviction. The highest court in the land had done likewise. He may have been guilty, but despite the fact that he was a black man, helpless in an area dominated by white people in complete control of all the machinery of such justice as exists, he had not been proved guilty according to the laws and the Constitution which these same whites have set up as the standard.

The conclusion is inescapable, as we have maintained here again and again, that in certain great areas of our country in which millions of Negro citizens live, there is no Constitution or Bill of Rights, there is no Congress, no Supreme Court, no President—*there is no government of the United States of America.* The government is the local peace officer and the local judge, in whose choosing the people have no voice, and over whose actions they exercise no control.

Let the liberals quibble if they must do so. The ugly fact is there: much of the United States is no different from Hitler's Germany, and for all practical, every-day purposes, the Negroes residing there are living under Hitlerism, regardless of the fine words spoken in what is supposed to be the *nation's* capital.

Give Our Soldiers Protection

REPORTS persist of the mistreatment of Negro soldiers in many of the army camps of the country, particularly those located in the South. Army censorship on these matters is clamped down tightly so that the men themselves dare not talk. However, the *Pittsburgh Courier* has sent a staff member on a tour of camps, and although that paper has been inclined not to be too critical (in its news columns), his revelations of the activities of Military Police cry for action by the War department.

In the same issue where a page of pictures carries a heading about the Negro soldiers at a camp "preparing to fight for democracy" is a revolting account, with pictures, of the beating of a Negro sergeant with 24 years of enlistment in the army.

From one camp in Virginia it is reported that not only are the Negro troops quartered far from the white soldiers, but Negro soldiers are not even permitted to walk through the section of the camp used by whites!

The War department owes it to the families and friends of colored soldiers, as well as to the general morale to see that these conditions are corrected. Our boys must be protected in the South or brought out.

National Emergency Can Give Us Jobs

IT is pretty generally agreed that the President's speech of May 27 was the next thing to a declaration of war. He proclaimed the existence of a full national emergency and under this proclamation he can exercise wide powers.

The very first idea that occurred to nine out of ten Negro Americans was that President Roosevelt can now make it clear in an unmistakable manner that the practice of denying colored citizens equal opportunity to participate fully in the national defense effort must cease.

In normal times there might be debate as to whether the President could issue an executive order abolishing discrimination in employment in defense industries. But this, by his own word, is a full national emergency. The President can and should issue such an order forthwith.

Peonage Indictment

ONE man in Chicago centered all his waking moments, his money, and his talents upon exposing to the world the conditions he knew existed in his native county of Oglethorpe, in Georgia, and was rewarded a week or two ago by the action of the Federal government in indicting W. T. Cunningham and Hamilton McWhorter on a charge of peonage and debt slavery. The Chicagoan is William Henry Huff who has crusaded for nearly two years, trying to get the government to act.

The indictment of Cunningham and McWhorter must give Huff a peculiar satisfaction, keener by far than the general applause which greeted his feat. For the plantation boss was the "king of evil" in Oglethorpe county, against whom no man—and especially no black man—dared raise his voice. It is a sort of poetic justice that a member of the race which Cunningham has enslaved should bring the 1941 Simon Legree to the bar of justice.

Enforce the Law

SINCE the United States supreme court ruling in the Mitchell case on April 21, several suits have been instituted in the courts to enforce the dictum of the high court, that Negroes possessing first class tickets may not be denied pullman accommodations and other first class services. The surest way to get a law enforced is to sue until all parties concerned understand that it is the law of the land.

One Friday Morning

A Story for Reading Aloud

By Langston Hughes

THE news did not come directly to Nancy Lee, but it came in little indirections that finally added themselves up to one tremendous fact: she had won the prize! But being a calm and quiet young lady, she did not say anything although the whole high school buzzed with rumors, guesses, reportedly authentic announcements on the part of students who had no right to be making announcements at all—since no student really knew yet who had won this year's art scholarship.

But Nancy Lee's drawing was so good, her lines so sure, her colors so bright and harmonious that certainly no other student in the senior art class at George Washington high was thought to have very much of a chance. Yet you never could tell. Last year nobody had expected Joe Williams to win the Artist Club scholarship with that funny modernistic water color he had done of the high level bridge. In fact, it was hard to make out there was a bridge until you had looked at the picture a long time. Still, Joe Williams got the prize, was feted by the community's leading painters, club women, and society folks at a big banquet at the Park-Rose hotel, and was now an award student at the Art School—the city's only art school.

Nancy Lee Johnson was a colored girl, a few years out of the South. But seldom did her high school classmates think of her as colored. She was smart, pretty and brown, and fitted in well with the life of the school. She stood high in scholarship, played a swell game of basketball, had taken part in the senior musical in a soft velvety voice, and had never seemed to intrude or stand out except in pleasant ways, so it was seldom even mentioned—her color.

Nancy Lee sometimes forgot she was colored herself. She liked her classmates and her school. Particularly she liked her arts teacher, Miss Dietrich, the tall red-haired woman who taught her to keep her brush strokes firm and her colors clean, who taught her law and order in doing things; and the beauty of working step by step until a job is done; a picture finished; a design created; or a block print carved out of nothing but an idea and a smooth square of linoleum, inked, proofs made, and

The brown, sweet, ambitious Nancy Lees are at once the hope and test of America

finally put down on paper—clean, sharp, beautiful, individual unlike any other in the world, thus making the paper have a meaning nobody else could give it except Nancy Lee. That was the wonderful thing about true creation. You made something nobody else on earth could make—but you.

Miss Dietrich was the kind of teacher who brought out the best in her students—but their *own* best, not anybody else's copied best. For anybody else's best, great though it might be, even Michelangelo's, wasn't enough to please Miss Dietrich dealing with the creative impulses of young men and women living in an American city in the Middle West, and being American.

Nancy Lee was proud of being American, a Negro American with blood out of Africa a long time ago, too many generations back to count. But her parents had taught her the beauties of Africa, its strength, its song, its mighty rivers, its early smelting of iron, its building of the pyramids, and its ancient and important civilizations. And Miss Dietrich had discovered for her the sharp and humorous lines of African sculpture, Benin, Congo, Makonde.

Nancy Lee's father was a mail carrier, her mother a social worker in a city settlement house. Both parents had been to Negro colleges in the South. And her mother had gotten a further degree in social work from a northern university. Her parents were, like most Americans, simple ordinary people who had worked hard and steadily for their education. Now they were trying to make it easier for Nancy Lee to achieve learning than it had been for them. They would be very happy when they learned of the award to their daughter—yet Nancy did not tell them. To surprise them would be better. Besides there had been a promise.

Casually, one day, Miss Dietrich asked Nancy Lee what color frame she thought would be best on her picture. That had been the first inkling.

"Blue," Nancy Lee said. Although the picture had been entered in the Artist Club contest a month ago, Nancy Lee did not hesitate in her choice of a color for the possible frame since she could still see her picture clearly in her mind's eye—for that picture waiting for the blue frame had come out of her soul, her own life, and had bloomed into miraculous being with Miss Dietrich's help. It was, she knew the best water color she had painted in her four years as a high school art student, and she was glad she had made something Miss Dietrich liked well enough to permit her to enter in the contest before she graduated.

It was not a modernistic picture in the sense that you had to look at it a long time to understand what it meant. It was just a simple scene in the city park on a spring day with the trees still leaflessly lacy against the sky, the new grass fresh and green, a flag on a tall pole in the center, children playing, and an old Negro woman sitting on a bench with her head turned. A lot for one picture, to be sure, but it was not there in heavy and final detail like a calendar. Its charm was that everything was light and airy, happy like spring, with a lot of blue sky, paper-white clouds, and air showing through. You could tell that the old Negro woman was looking at the flag; and that the flag was proud in the spring breeze; and that the breeze helped to make the children's dresses billow as they played.

Miss Dietrich had taught Nancy Lee how to paint spring, people and a breeze on what was only a plain white piece of paper from the supply closet. But Miss Dietrich had not said make it like any other spring-people-breeze ever seen before. She let it remain Nancy Lee's own. That is how the old Negro woman happened to be there looking at the flag—for in her mind the flag, the spring, and the woman formed a kind of triangle holding a dream Nancy Lee wanted to express. White stars on a blue field, spring, children, ever-growing life, and an old woman. Would the judges at the Artist Club like it?

One wet rainy April afternoon Miss O'Shay, the girl's vice-principal sent for Nancy Lee to stop by her office as school closed. Pupils without umbrellas or raincoats were clustered in doorways hoping to make it home between show-

ers. Outside the skies were gray. Nancy Lee's thoughts were suddenly gray, too.

She did not think she had done anything wrong, yet that tight little knot came in her throat just the same as she approached Miss O'Shay's door. Perhaps she had banged her locker too often and too hard. Perhaps the note in French she had written to Sallie half way across the study hall just for fun had never gotten to Sallie but into Miss O'Shay's hands instead. Or maybe she was failing in some subject and wouldn't be allowed to graduate. Chemistry! A pang went through the pit of her stomach.

She knocked on Miss O'Shay's door. That familiarly solid and competent voice said, "Come in."

Miss O'Shay had a way of making you feel welcome even if you came to be expelled.

"Sit down, Nancy Lee Johnson," said Miss O'Shay. "I have something to tell you." Nancy Lee sat down. "But I must ask you to promise not to tell anyone yet."

"I won't, Miss O'Shay," Nancy Lee said, wondering what on earth the principal had to say to her.

"You are about to graduate," Miss O'Shay said. "And we shall miss you. You have been an excellent student, Nancy, and you will not be without honors on the senior list, as I am sure you know.

At that point there was a light knock on the door. Miss O'Shay called out, "Come in," and Miss Dietrich entered.

"May I be a part of this, too?" she asked, tall and smiling.

"Of course," Miss O'Shay said. "I was just telling Nancy Lee what we thought of her. But I hadn't gotten around to giving her the news. Perhaps, Miss Dietrich, you'd like to tell her yourself."

Miss Dietrich was always direct. "Nancy Lee," she said, "your picture has won the Artist Club scholarship."

The slender brown girl's eyes widened, her heart jumped, then her throat tightened again. She tried to smile, but instead tears came to her eyes.

"Dear Nancy Lee," Miss O'Shay said, "we are so happy for you." The elderly white woman took her hand and shook it warmly while Miss Dietrich beamed with pride.

NANCY LEE must have danced all the way home. She never remembered quite how she got there through the rain. She hoped she had been dignified. But certainly she hadn't stopped to tell anybody her secret on the way. Raindrops, smiles, and tears mingled on her brown cheeks. She hoped her mother hadn't yet gotten home and that the house was empty. She wanted to have time to calm down and look natural before she had to see anyone. She didn't want to be bursting with excitement—having a secret to contain.

Miss O'Shay's calling her to the office had been in the nature of a preparation and a warning. The kind, elderly vice-principal said she did not believe in catching young ladies unawares, even with honors, so she wished her to know about the coming award. In making acceptance speeches she wanted her to be calm, prepared, not nervous, overcome and frightened, so Nancy Lee was asked to think what she would say when the Scholarship was conferred upon her a few days hence, both at the Friday morning high school assembly hour when the announcement would be made, and at the evening banquet of the Artist Club. Nancy Lee promised the vice-principal to think calmly about what she would say.

Miss Dietrich had then asked for some facts about her parents, her background, and her life, since it would probably all be desired for the papers. Nancy Lee had told her how, six years before they had come up from the Deep South, her father having been successful in achieving a transfer from one post office to another, a thing he had long sought in order to give Nancy Lee a chance to go to school in the North. Now, they lived in a modest Negro neighborhood, went to see the best plays when they came to town, and had been saving to send Nancy Lee to art school, in case she were permitted to enter. But the scholarship would help a great deal, for they were not rich people.

"Now Mother can have a new coat next winter," Nancy Lee thought, "Because my tuition will all be covered for the first year. And once in art school, there are other scholarships I can win."

Dreams began to dance through her head, plans and ambitions, beauties she would create for herself, her parents, and the Negro people—for Nancy Lee possessed a deep and reverent race pride. She could see the old woman in her picture (really her Grandmother in the South) lifting her head to the bright stars on the flag in the distance. A Negro in America! Often hurt, discriminated against, sometimes lynched—but always there were the stars—the blue body of the flag. Was there any other flag in the world that had so many stars? Nancy Lee thought deeply but she could remember none in all the encyclopedias or geographies she had ever looked into.

"Hitch your wagon to a star," Nancy Lee thought dancing home in the rain. "Who were our flag makers?"

Friday morning came, the morning when the world would know—her high school world, the newspaper world, her mother and dad. Dad could not be there at the assembly to hear the announcement, nor see her prize picture displayed on the stage, nor listen to Nancy Lee's little speech of acceptance, but Mother would be able to come, although Mother was much puzzled as to why Nancy Lee was so insistent she be at school on that particular Friday morning.

When something is happening, something new and fine, something that will change your very life, it is hard to go to sleep at night for thinking about it, and hard to keep your heart from pounding, or a strange little knot of joy from gathering in your throat. Nancy Lee had taken her bath, brushed her hair until it glowed, and had gone to bed thinking about that next day, the big day when, before three thousand students, she would be the *one* student honored, her painting the *one* painting to be acclaimed as the best of the year from all the art classes of the city. Her short speech of gratitude was ready. She went over it in her mind, not word for word (because she didn't want it to sound as if she had learned it by heart) but she let the thoughts flow simply and sincerely through her consciousness many times.

When the president of the Artist Club presented her with the medal and scroll of the scholarship award, she would say:

"Judges, and members of the Artist Club. I want to thank you for this award that means so much to me personally and through me to my people, the colored people of this city who, sometimes, are discouraged and bewildered thinking that color and poverty are against them. I accept this award with gratitude and pride, not for myself alone but for my race that believes in American opportunity and American fairness—and the bright stars in our flag. I thank Miss Dietrich and the teachers of this school who made it possible for me to have the knowledge and training that lie behind this honor you have conferred upon my painting. When I came here from the South a few years ago, I was not sure how you would receive me. You received me well. You have given me a chance, and helped me along the road I wanted to follow. I suppose the judges know that every week here at assembly the students of this school pledge allegiance to the flag. I shall try to be worthy of that pledge, and of the help and friendship and understanding of my fellow citizens of whatever race or creed, and of our American dream of 'Liberty and justice for all!' "

That would be her response before the students in the morning. How proud and happy the Negro pupils

would be, perhaps as proud as they were of the one colored star on the football team. Her mother would probably cry with happiness. Thus Nancy Lee went to sleep dreaming of a wonderful tomorrow.

The bright sunlight of an April morning woke her. There was breakfast with her parents—their half amused and puzzled faces across the table, wondering what could be this secret that made her eyes so bright. The swift walk to school; the clock in the tower almost nine; hundreds of pupils streaming into the long rambling old building that was the city's largest high school; the sudden quiet of the home room after the bell rang; then the teacher opening her record book to call the roll. But just before she began, she looked across the room until her eyes located Nancy Lee.

"Nancy," she said, "Miss O'Shay would like to see you in her office, please."

Nancy Lee rose and went out while the names were being called and the word *present* added its period to each name. Perhaps, Nancy Lee thought, the reporters from the papers had already come. Maybe they wanted to take her picture before assembly, which wasn't until ten o'clock. (Last year they had had the photograph of the winner of the award in the morning papers no sooner than the announcement had been made.)

Nancy Lee knocked at Miss O'Shay's door.

"Come in."

The vice-principal stood at her desk. There was no one else in the room. It was very quiet.

"Sit down, Nancy Lee," she said. Miss O'Shay did not smile. There was a long pause. The seconds went by slowly. "I do not know how to tell you what I have to say," the elderly woman began, her eyes on the papers on her desk. "I am indignant and ashamed for myself and this city." Then she lifted her eyes and looked at Nancy Lee in the neat blue dress sitting there before her. "You are not to receive the scholarship this morning."

Outside in the hall the electric bells announcing the first period rang, loud and interminably long. Miss O'Shay remained silent. To the brown girl there in the chair, the room grew suddenly smaller, smaller, smaller, and there was no air. She could not speak.

Miss O'Shay said, "When the committee learned that you were colored they changed their plans."

Still Nancy Lee said nothing for there was no air to give breath to her lungs.

"Here is the letter from the committee, Nancy Lee." Miss O'Shay picked it up and read the final paragraph to her.

"It seems to us wiser to arbitrarily rotate the award among the various high schools of the city from now on. And especially in this case since the student chosen happens to be colored, a circumstance which unfortunately, had we known, might have prevented this embarrassment. But there have never been any Negro students in the local art school and the presence of one there might create difficulties for all concerned. We have high regard for the quality of Nancy Lee Johnson's talent, but we do not feel it would be fair to honor it with the Artist Club award." Miss O'Shay paused. She put the letter down.

"Nancy Lee, I am very sorry to have to give you this message."

"But my speech," Nancy Lee said, "was about . . ." The words stuck in her throat. ". . . about America. . . ."

Miss O'Shay had risen, she turned her back and stood looking out the window at the spring tulips in the school yard.

"I thought, since the award would be made at assembly right after our oath of allegiance," the words tumbled almost hysterically from Nancy Lee's throat now, "I would put part of the flag salute in my speech. You know, Miss O'Shay, that part about 'liberty and justice for all'."

"I know," said Miss O'Shay slowly facing the room again. "But America is only what we who *believe* in it, make it. I am Irish. You may not know, Nancy Lee, but years ago, we were called the *dirty* Irish, and mobs rioted against us in the big cities, and we were invited to go back where we came from. But we didn't go. And we didn't give up, because we *believed* in the American dream, and in our power to make that dream come true. Difficulties, yes. Mountains to climb, yes. Discouragements to face, yes. Democracy to make, yes. That is it, Nancy Lee! We still have in this world of ours, democracy *to make*. You and I, Nancy Lee. But the premise and the base is here, the lines of the Declaration of Independence and the words of Lincoln are here, and the stars in our flag. Those who deny you this scholarship do not know the meaning of those stars, but it's up to us to make them know. As a teacher in the public schools of this city, I myself will go before the school board and ask them to remove from our system the offer of any prizes or wards denied to any student because of race or color." Suddenly Miss O'Shay stopped speaking. Her clear, clear blue eyes looked into those of the girl before her. The woman's eyes were full of strength and courage. "Lift up your head, Nancy Lee, and smile at me."

Miss O'Shay stood against the open window with the green lawn and the tulips beyond, the sunlight tangled in her gray hair, her voice an electric flow of strength to the hurt spirit of Nancy Lee. The Abolitionists who believed in freedom when there was slavery must have been like that. The first white teachers who went into the Deep South to teach the freed slaves must have been like that. All those who stand against ignorance, narrowness, hate, and mud on stars must be like that.

Nancy Lee lifted her head and smiled. The tears were only drops of April rain.

The bell for assembly rang. Nancy Lee went through the long hall filled with students toward the auditorium.

"There will be other awards," Nancy Lee thought. "There're are schools in other cities. This won't keep me down. But when I'm a woman, I'll fight to see that these things don't happen to other girls as this has happened to me. And men and women like Miss O'Shay will help me."

She took her seat among the seniors. The doors of the auditorium closed. As the principal came onto the platform the students rose and turned their eyes to the flag on the stage with its red and white stripes and the stars on its field of blue.

One hand went to the heart, the other outstretched toward the flag. Three thousand voices spoke. Among them was the voice of a dark girl whose cheeks were suddenly wet with tears.

"I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the Republic for which it stands." The words grew stronger, the dark girl's voice stronger, too. "One nation indivisible, with liberty and justice for all."

"That is the land *we* must make," she thought.

Next Month

News and pictures of 1941 graduates in the 30th annual education number of THE CRISIS for August.

Uncle Sam Indicts Peonage Boss

By Sasha Small

In its January issue The Crisis printed an article, "1940 Slavery in Georgia" by William Henry Huff. This is the sequel —the government has indicted W. T. Cunningham, Georgia plantation owner, and his aide, on a charge of "holding Negroes in . . . peonage and slavery"

"WE had some fatback and corn bread and dried peas—never had enough to eat. We weren't allowed to have any milk. He would feed his dogs (he had about 15 of them) the milk and never give my children any. The children would stand around and cry when they saw the milk being poured out to the dogs. He had a special cook for the dogs and bought fresh meat and bones for them. They had barbecued lamb and he gave them corn bread and biscuits. When I asked him for shoes for my children, he told me to tear the pockets out of my husband's overalls and use them for shoes . . . I didn't have any shoes." (*Affidavit of Lucille McCannon*).

He is William Toliver Cunningham. He owns Sandy Cross Plantation in Oglethorpe county near Lexington, Georgia. In addition to being a great lover of dogs, Mr. Cunningham thinks he is a law unto himself. He said so repeatedly to his slaves: *"I am the government."* He attempted to prove it in various ways:

"After the first couple of months, I asked Mr. Cunningham for my pay. He told me he would knock my brains out if I asked for it again and threatened to knock my brains out if I left the plantation. I saw him beat men with straps and pistol butts when they were brought back to the plantation after running away. So I was afraid to ask for the money and afraid to leave. The only money I ever got was on Christmas when Cunningham gave me 50¢." (*Affidavit of Mrs. Cleo Fleming*).

"I was born on Cunningham's Sandy Cross Plantation in Oglethorpe county, Georgia. At 2 years of age I went to live with my aunt away from the plantation. When I was 13 years old my aunt died. My mother came to me at that time and told me that Cunningham had told her that he would bury my aunt and pay the expenses if I came to work on his plantation to pay off the debt. In 1938, about Christmas time, I told Cunningham I wanted to leave. He said to me: 'If you leave you'll owe me money. I'll get you and put you on the chain-gang'. I knew he meant it because I've seen him send other people to the chain-gang when they tried to leave; others he didn't put on the chain-gang, I've seen him almost beat them to death. The most I ever got for a year's work was $6.00." (*Affidavit of Hubert Smith*).

Extradition Blocked

This record could go on and on with testimony of sick women knocked down and beaten with buggy whips, boys taken off the chain-gang and enslaved, then put on again for trying to escape and once again enslaved by a human monster who kicked pregnant women, forced children to work in the cotton fields from sun-up to sun-down, cheated the U. S. Government by forcing his slaves to harvest the cotten he'd been paid to plough under.

WILLIAM HENRY HUFF

Just how long William Toliver Cunningham thought he could continue to be this kind of government, with the assistance of one Hamilton McWhorter, attorney, ex-president of the Georgia state senate and Sheriff Ed Watkins of Oglethorpe county, is not known. But that he carried his *"government"* just a little too far out of bounds on September 8, 1939, is very clear.

On that day he appeared in the city of Chicago with warrants for the arrest and extradition of Doc Woods, Otis Woods and Solomon McCannon. The charges against these men were stealing two bushels of corn from Mr. Cunningham's barn, in Georgia, in December, 1935. The men had remained on his premises for at least a year after the alleged theft —and then they succeeded in running away from his slavery.

The rest of the story concerns indefatigable efforts on the part of a group of Chicago citizens to bring Mr. Cunningham to justice and to launch what promises to be a finish fight against peonage in the United States.

There are no exact figures, of course, on the extent to which this barbarous relic of human slavery still exists in our land. The fact that it does exist is tragically undeniable. Poll-tax rolls testify eloquently to its existence. Whip-lashed backs, fugitives in huddled Negro communities in big cities, refugees from Southern terror offer further proof.

During the extradition proceedings started by Cunningham in Chicago, the International Labor Defense and Attorney William Henry Huff, born in Oglethorpe county, entered the battle. The men were not extradited largely because of the impressive testimony of what awaited them on their return presented as part of their defense.

Indicted for Peonage

But the battle did not end there. For 20 months it continued through the untiring and persistent efforts of the Abolish Peonage Committee of the I.L.D. (composed of civic leaders, heads of Negro organizations, trade unions, fraternal groups) discouraged by no such obstacles as two official communications from J. Edgar Hoover advising them that the Department of Justice considered the case closed—efforts which

(*Continued on page 226*)

Supreme Court 1940

By Ernest E. Johnson

WHILE civil liberties in embattled parts of the world were being withdrawn by disciples of despotism and while human rights were being crushed beneath the heel of tyranny, in these United States the deprived and oppressed were still seeking and finding relief in the courts of law of the land. To the Negro, whose trials and tribulations are not yet at an end, this fact stands out pre-eminently as a hope against sometimes seemingly insurmountable odds, for in the year 1940 he saw four rights of citizenship affirmed by the supreme court of the United States.

Throughout the year the N.A.A.C.P., vigorously persevering watchdog of the Negro's civil rights, fought relentlessly to see that no miscarriage of justice might develop insofar as it was within its power to act.

In terms of cases, no less than seven came to the attention of the court in which constitutionally guaranteed rights were questioned. Illustrative of the importance and significance of this number is the fact that for the period of twenty-four years ending May, 1939, only thirteen cases had been presented to the highest court of which the Association was successful in twelve. Six victorious cases in 1940 therefore compares quite favorably with the twenty-four-average of one every two years. Significant too is the fact that in each of the 1940 cases it was the fourteenth Amendment that was involved. Of the cases coming before the supreme court with this Amendment as the basis of appeal, the majority have been actions involving corporate rights rather than individual rights, as was the original intent of the Amendment.

The 1940 decisions dealt with (1) forced or extorted confessions; (2) the restrictive covenant in land leases; (3) the denial of equal pay to school teachers because of race or color; and (4) the exclusion of Negroes from grand juries because of race or color. No close scrutiny is necessary to make apparent the tremendous scope and importance of these legal victories won for the race through sheer tenaciousness and skill. The first protects persons arrested on suspicion of having committed a criminal act against downright violence and coercion on the part of public officials and others bent upon securing confessions at any cost. The second removed one of the residential barriers which have long made Chicago's southside a veritable ghetto. While the decision has had its beneficial effect, it had been hoped the ruling would have resulted in a general denunciation of restrictive covenants. The third shakes loose the principal of differential pay, predominant in the South, between Negro and white public employees. The fourth rips at the core of legal injustices by outlawing the practice of racial discrimination in the selection of juries, especially where the rights of Negroes are involved.

In almost each instance considerable legal manoeuvering in the lower courts preceded its arrival for final decision. Only that portion of the various cases is cited which will permit a better understanding and appreciation of the court's findings and opinions. Three of the opinions were handed down by Associate Justice Hugo Black and one by Associate Justice Harlan Stone; one case carried no opinion and two were by the court.

Chamber vs. State of Florida:

The first of these cases, decided February 12, 1940, and involving four ignorant tenant farmers, was Chambers et al vs. the State of Florida and deals with forced confessions. The state charged that on Saturday May 13, 1933, the defendants robbed and murdered an elderly white man in Pompano, Florida, a small town in Broward county. Within one hour thereafter some twenty-five to forty Negroes had been rounded up, without warrants, in a dragnet spread through the Negro community.

The record shows that the following Monday, because he expected "mob violence," the sheriff transferred several of the prisoners, including the defendants, to the jail at Miami. Here, one of the two defendants who later pleaded guilty at the arraignment was kept in the death cell. On Tuesday, however, all prisoners were returned to Broward county jail where a five-day period of exhaustive questioning was begun.

This sustained interrogation eliciting no information the questioners—chiefly the sheriff and a convict guard—altered their strategy by a "concentration of effort directed at a small number of persons." Brief intervals for food and drink—for the questioners—were the only interruptions before the prisoners "broke" about sunrise of Sunday, May 21. The state's attorney, summoned to the jail in the middle of the night, rejected the first confession because it was "not what I want." After a short period of "re-conditioning" the prisoners, the sheriff again summoned the attorney who this time questioned the prisoners personally while stenographic notes were made. Up until now no formal charge had been made.

Two days later the four defendants were indicted and arraigned, and Williamson and Woodward pleaded guilty. Chambers and Davis changed their minds. Davis' court-appointed counsel soon after was informed by the sheriff that Davis wanted to withdraw his "not guilty" plea. Chambers' conviction then rested upon his "confession" and the testimony of the other three.

Notwithstanding the fact that the state's attorney challenged the jurisdiction of the high court to look behind the judgments on the grounds that the issue presented by the petitioners had been passed upon by a jury, Mr. Justice Black held it the right of the court to determine independently whether the defendants' confessions had been obtained "by mean proscribed by the Fourteenth Amendment."

Speaking of the "all-night vigil" that followed the five days of straight questioning, Mr. Justice Black scored the "dragnet method of arrest on suspicion and without warrant" and condemned the condition where "prisoners were without friends, advisers, or counselors and under circumstances calculated to break the strongest nerves and the stoutest resistance." In seldom matched eloquence, the Alabama jurist continued:

"The determination to preserve an accused's right to procedural due process sprang in large part from knowledge of the historical truth that the rights and liberties of people accused of crime could not be safely entrusted to secret inquisitorial processes * * *. The rack, the thumbscrew, the wheel, solitary confinement, protracted questioning and cross-questioning, and other ingenious forms of entrapment of the helpless or unpopular left their wake of mutilated bodies and shattered minds along the way to

the cross, the guillotine, the stake and the hangman's noose. And they who have suffered most from secret and dictatorial proceedings have almost always been the poor, the ignorant, the numerically weak, the friendless and the powerless.

"No higher duty, no more solemn responsibility," he concluded, "rests upon this Court than that of translating into living law and maintaining the constitutional shield (due process) deliberately planned and inscribed for the benefit of every human being subject to our Constitution—of whatever race, creed or persuasion." By this decision an earlier ruling (Brown vs. Mississippi) along similar lines thereby became supplemented and enlarged.

Canty vs. State of Alabama:

One month later attorneys for one Dave Canty, convicted of murder in the state of Alabama in March, 1938, sought and obtained a review by the supreme court basing the petition on the claim that the confession had been extorted from Canty. Without an opinion, the court reversed the judgment of the Alabama supreme court and cited the ruling in the Chambers case as the precedent.

White vs. State of Texas:

Also in the wake and by virtue of the new precedent was the decision in the case of Bob White vs. State of Texas, wherein the judgment of the lower court again was reversed. Here the appeal was more clearly the result of the Chambers decision.

White was convicted of rape and sentenced to death in Polk County, Texas, in August, 1937. Finding no satisfactory relief in the state courts, attorneys for White went to the supreme court for a review. This was denied on November 13, 1939. Attorneys again, on February 29, 1940, petitioned the supreme court for a review alleging that White's confession had been taken in violation of the due process clause—in other words, beaten out of him.

Although on March 25 the court decided, without opinion, in White's favor, the final blow against the state's case was not delivered until May 27 when its request was denied for a rehearing of White's petition for review. The state claimed inadequate notice although the district court clerk, the district attorney, the governor and the state board of pardons and paroles all had been notified that White had been granted a review.

Interesting to note is the latitude the court assumed in justifying its right to review. The state had contended that evidence existed proving that White denied ever having made or signed a confession, which purportedly carried his mark. This being true, the state insisted, White had blocked his right to a review based upon a deprivation of due process at his trial. The court's rebuttal to this argument was that "since the state did present the confession to the jury as that of the petitioner, the court must determine whether the record shows that, if signed at all, the confession was obtained and used in correct manner and procedure and not contrary to the due process guarantee."

The record showed that White had for several nights been taken from jail and to the woods by Rangers, and beaten. Mr. Justice Black, quoting from the Chambers case opinion, said: "Due process of law, preserved for all by our Constitution, commands that no such practice as that disclosed by this record shall send any accused to his death."[1]

Hansberry vs. Lee:

Negroes in the South, chief victims of extorted confessions, having now had the law clearly placed upon the books for their protection as well as for the protection of others, it was next left to Chicago to furnish the elements and circumstances that were to distribute added benefits upon more Negroes, this time in the matter of housing. The case in point is Hansberry vs. Lee.

Carl A. Hansberry, real estate operator, became owner and occupant of a house covered by an agreement among "some five hundred" landowners, which agreement stipulated that for a specified period no part of the land in a described area of Chicago should be "sold, leased to or permitted to be occupied by any person of the colored race." This area bordered on the so-called Negro section of the city. To be effective the agreement required the signatures of the "owners of 95% of the frontage" within the area.

A group of owners, including Anna M. Lee, brought suit to prevent violation of the agreement. Reduced to its essentials, they maintained that petitioner Hansberry was bound by the decree in an earlier and similar case, namely Burke vs. Kleiman, even though he was not an actual party thereto. The supreme court of Illinois, in the present case, concluded that Burke vs. Kleiman was a "class" or "representative" suit, and that Hansberry, as a member of one of the classes represented in the earlier suit, was consequently bound by its decree. The decree referred to held that the agreement's effectiveness had been established and had been passed upon and therefore not subject to review except by direct proceedings. The fact that only 54% instead of 95% of frontage owners had signed did not alter this view. The court, therefore, sought to determine whether Hansberry had been deprived of due process by being held bound by the decree in the Burke case, main support for which was an ineffective agreement.

Mr. Justice Stone pointed to the accepted principle of Anglo-American jurisprudence that one is not bound by a judgment in a litigation in which he is not designated or made a party thereto by service of process except in particular cases in equity, not readily definable by state procedure without compromising the interests of absent parties. The Justice, in hard and exacting legalistic reasoning, held that the restrictive agreement did not intend to create a joint obligation or liability but rather individual obligation running severally to each of the signers. If those who sought to secure the benefits of the agreement were rightly regarded by the Illinois supreme court as constituting a class, he held, it is evident that signers or their successors who chose to challenge the validity of the agreement were not of the same class in the sense that their interests were identical.

In this technical opinion, the high court reversed the Illinois supreme court and in so doing opened up twenty-seven city blocks of property to Negro occupancy.

Previous cases sponsored by the N. A. A. C. P. in connection with residential restrictions against the Negro succeeded in having declared unconstitutional city ordinances which set aside residential areas by race. The one instance involving property owners covenants to reach the high court, however, Corrigan vs. Buckley (May, 1926) was dismissed for want of jurisdiction.

Norfolk School Board vs. Alston et al:

On petition of the school board of the city of Norfolk, Va., the supreme court refused to review the decision rendered by the U. S. Court of Appeals, fourth district, in favor of Melvin O. Alston, et al, who had brought action against the board to compel payment to him and others the same salaries that were being paid to white teachers in the Norfolk public school system, and to restrain the board from making any other distinctions on the basis of race or color. Schedules offered in evidence revealed that male white high school teachers were receiving a minimum of $1,200 a year. Alston, after five years of service in similar cate-

[1] In the courtroom at Conroe, Texas, June 10, while jurors were being picked for his third trial, Bob White was shot and killed by W. S. Cochran, husband of the prosecutrix. Cochran was released immediately in $500 bail.

gory, it was shown, was being paid only $921. Judge Parker ruled:

"That an unconstitutional discrimination is set forth in these paragraphs (of the complaint) hardly admits of argument * * *. The allegation is that the state, in paying for public services of the same kind and character to men and women equally qualified according to standards which the State itself prescribes, arbitrarily pays less to Negroes than to white persons. This is as clear a discrimination on the grounds of race as could well be imagined, and falls squarely within the inhibition of both the due process and the equal protection clauses of the Fourteenth Amendment."

The board contended that a contract with the city is prerequisite before there can be any grievances; however, having entered into a contract, a teacher thereby waives any right to file suit against the terms of the contract. To this contention Judge Parker commented: "If this were sound, there would be no practical means of redress for teachers subject to unconstitutional discrimination."

As a result of this case, Norfolk teachers have won an agreement from the school board to gradually equalize all salaries beginning in September, 1941, and completing the process not later than 1943. The amount involved is $129,000.

Smith vs. State of Texas:

Succinct, clear and unequivocal was the law laid down by Mr. Justice Black in the case of Edgar Smith, petitioner, vs. State of Texas, decided on November 25, and reversing the Texas court of criminal appeals. "When Negroes are intentionally and systematically excluded from grand jury service solely on account of race and color," he said, "a conviction of a Negro based upon an indictment returned by a grand jury so selected is a denial of 'equal protection' of law." This case follows up and gives complete support to previous rulings on the question of jury service.

While the state did not challenge this point, it did maintain that the evidence offered did not support the charge of racial discrimination. The court, however, felt it its responsibility to appraise the evidence offered as it related to the equal protection guaranteed by the Constitution.

The record showed that Smith had been indicted and convicted of rape in Harris County, Texas, where Negroes constitute over 20% of the population and about 10% of the poll tax-payers. "A minimum of from three to four thousand of them" were therefore eligible for grand jury service according to the qualifications set by Texas statutes. Yet, despite this large source, in the years 1931 to 1938 inclusive, only 5 of the 18 Negroes summoned for duty ever served, whereas 379 of the 494 white men summoned did serve. Since one Negro served three times, actually only 3 individual Negroes ever served. There was none in 1937 or in 1938.

The method of exclusion was to give the number 16 to the Negroes summoned, or at least not lower than number 13, and then proceed to select for service the first 12 on the list.

As regards these two points, Mr. Justice Black said: "Chance and accident alone could hardly have brought about the listing * * * of so few Negroes from among the thousands" legally qualified. "Nor could chance and accident have been responsible * * * (for the name of a Negro) when listed at all" to appear almost invariably as number 16, "which was never called for service unless it proved impossible to obtain the required jurors" from among the first 15 listed. The exclusion of Negroes, he said, not only violates our Constitution, "but is at war with our basic concepts of a democratic society and a representative government. The fact that the written words of a state's laws hold out a promise that no discrimination will be practiced is not enough. The Fourteenth Amendment requires that equal protection to all must be *given*—not merely promised."

One commissioner of jurors had testified that the failure to select Negroes was due to the fact that they knew of none who were qualified. Another had testified that he was not personally acquainted with any members of the Negro race. To this Mr. Justice Black commented:

"* * * what the Fourteenth Amendment prohibits is racial discrimination in the selection of grand juries. Where jury commissioners limit those from whom grand juries are selected to their own personal acquaintances, discrimination can arise from commissioners who know no Negroes as well as Commissioners who know but eliminate them. If there has been discrimination, whether accomplished ingeniously or ingenuously, the conviction can not stand."

Finally, on December 16 the Court gave tentative approval to a request by Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell to review his suit against the Chicago, Rock Island and Pacific R. R. by which he hoped to have the constitutionality of the jim-crow system in interstate commerce tested. As a friend of the court, the office of the U. S. attorney general filed a brief in March, 1940, thereby making itself an interested party to the suit. Meanwhile, the Southern Conference of Governors met in Montgomery at the behest of Frank Dixon of Alabama to publicly register their opposition to any change in the jim-crow system. At this writing the Court had not yet rendered an opinion.[1]

While it is true that the N. A. A. C. P. disdains personal glorification, it is nonetheless well to know some of the men whose zealous efforts in the marshaling of facts and presentation of arguments have gone to bring about such fruitful ends. Much credit, therefore, is due to Leon A. Ransom, Dean William H. Hastie, W. Robert Ming, Washington, D. C.; S. D. McGill, Jacksonville, Fla.; Earl B. Dickerson, Truman K. Gibson, Irvin C. Mollison, Chicago; Thurgood Marshall, New York City; Oliver W. Hill, Richmond, Va.; and Sam W. Davis and William A. Davis, Houston, Texas.

In the one case not handled by the Association, that of White vs. Texas, the able defense was made by F. S. K. Whittaker and Carter Wesley of Houston.

With the great war effort occupying the minds of the country, an unswerving attention should be given to see that setbacks in civil liberties do not intrude in the name of expediency. In fact, a redoubling of effort should be made to secure for the Negro the fulfillment of all his questioned rights, especially in light of the demands that are about to be made upon him by his country for the cause of democracy and freedom.

EARL B. DICKERSON
who made the principal argument in the Hansberry Chicago covenant victory before the supreme court

[1] Congressman Mitchell won his case before the Supreme court in an opinion handed down April 21, 1941.

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A Technique in Union Negotiations

By U. Simpson Tate

Howard university has set a record by negotiating an agreement on wages and working conditions with its non-teaching staff, organized into a labor union

THE Board of Trustees of Howard university, in its April 8 meeting, at Washington, D. C., amended its existing policy and regulations affecting employees of the university to cover its non-teaching staff. This brings office workers, technicians, maintenance workers and others under the tenure regulations of the University for the first time.

Officers of Local 27, United Office and Professional Workers of America (CIO) state that this is the first agreement entered into between the union and an educational institution.

The union began to organize the non-teaching employees at Howard university in 1938. At that time there was considerable conjecture as to the propriety of such an undertaking. The union wanted this point cleared to protect its membership at Howard university from punitive action.

A conference with Dr. Mordecai W. Johnson, president of the university, was arranged. At this meeting Dr. Johnson made his position quite clear. To confirm this he addressed a letter to the president of Local 27 U.O.P.W.A. in which he stated:

"I wish to advise that the Board of Trustees of Howard University is the policy making body in the matter of the organization of employees. While there has been no specific action by this body in the matter of employees uniting with labor unions, I feel certain that I properly interpret the will of the Trustees when I say that each and every employee of the university is at liberty to join a union if and when he chooses, and to join the union of his own free choice."

This letter was dated December 29, 1938. Subsequent to this Dr. Johnson met with employees and union representatives and suggested that the employees draw up a set of recommendations with reference to conditions of employment and that these recommendations be presented to the Board of Trustees at its next meeting in April, 1939.

The employees, through their union, filed their recommendations with the secretary of the university, with justifications for each point, to be presented by him to the Board of Trustees. The board sent them to the appropriate committee for study, with instructions that a report be made by that committee to the Board at its October, 1939, meeting.

At that meeting the board could not reach this item on its agenda and it was carried over to the April, 1940, meeting. At that time the board approved a plan which provided for meetings and discussions between Dr. Johnson and the employees or their representatives, to settle differences and establish the justice and equity of the basic needs established in this body of employee proposals.

During the months that followed Dr. Johnson met with the union as often as was necessary and discussed each item of the proposal in detail. It must be said here that these meetings were held in Dr. Johnson's office, often after hours, at the end of busy and taxing days. They demanded great patience and the breadth of human understanding which Dr. Johnson's fifteen years at Howard university have exemplified.

Dr. Johnson made it clear that he favored most of the proposals made by the union, but that such changes as were made would have to be made in keeping with the primary purpose of the University. To this, the union agreed. From the total funds available to the university, Dr. Johnson said, definitely fixed proportions had to be spent for direct educational purposes, that is, teachers' salaries, research, library facilities, laboratory equipment, etc. It was evident, therefore, that only such changes could be made as were possible without placing too great financial burden on the university.

All such matters were discussed candidly in these conferences and conclusions were reached which were agreeable to the administration and the union. Dr. Johnson then said that these recommendations would go to the Trustees with his approval and support.

The union and the employees at the university experienced that greatest blow, when at the October, 1940, meeting of the board, pressure of what the board regarded as more important business made it impossible to consider these employee proposals. The union became apprehensive lest it lose its members at Howard, who by this time were becoming restive and impatient. They

(Continued on page 236)

Scurlock Photo

The group of office people who negotiated the agreement between Howard university and the Office and Professional Workers' Union. Left to right: Bertha S. Bryant, Mrs. N. B. Scott, U. Simpson Tate, Mrs. Lillian J. Ruffin, Paul D. Elmore, Mrs. W. A. Biggins, and Mrs. Sadie Sokolore, president, Local 27, U.O.P.W.A.

Florida "Can't Take" Lynching Criticism

WESTBROOK PEGLER, in his syndicated column of May 18-19, made some typically biting Pegler comments on the lynching which took place in Quincy, Florida, May 13.

One of the papers which subscribes to the Pegler column is the Tampa *Tribune*.

The reaction of Florida citizens to the criticism of themselves in the Pegler column was typically southern—that is, violent. In their replies to the column they proved, if any proof were needed, that what Pegler had said about certain sections of Florida and certain citizens of that state was true.

The state senate, in session at Tallahassee, took time out on May 27 to criticize the columnist in speeches and to make those speeches a part of the official record.

The comment ranged all the way from one letter to the papers advocating "a combine (to) murder all his kin, box them up and ship them," to the scholarly language of Senator Amos Lewis in his speech: "I sincerely hope that this vicious, uncouth, uncultured blasphemer of all that is good and noble in America will live to drink the dregs of the shame that must be his inevitable reward for his earthly existence."

The Marianna Lynching

In passing it may be mentioned that Senator Lewis hails from the town of Marianna, Florida, where one of the most brutal lynchings in our long history was staged in 1934, with Claude Neal as the victim.

Neal was chased all over north Florida by a blood-thirsty mob, and was moved from jail to jail by peace officers until finally he was lodged in jail at Brewton, Alabama. Although this was 200 miles from Marianna, a cavalcade of motor cars drove to Brewton, snatched Neal from the jail, drove back to Marianna and lynched him, "by appointment," by 10 o'clock that night.

The lynching was advertised in advance over the radio, by a news announcer on the radio station at Dothan, Alabama. The late editions of morning newspapers and early afternoon papers all over the United States carried news stories stating that a mob had Neal in an automobile caravan and was taking him back to Marianna to be lynched that night.

The Tampa, Florida, *Tribune* announced in an eight-column streamer,

Citizens prove by violent reaction that what Columnist Pegler said about them is true—especially Senator Lewis from the town that staged the "advertised" lynching of Claude Neal in 1934

"CROWD AWAITS LYNCHING."

The Little Rock, Arkansas, *Gazette* headline was, "NEGRO HELD ALL DAY FOR LYNCHING."

The Richmond, Va., *Times-Dispatch* headline was, "MOB HOLDS NEGRO: INVITATIONS ISSUED FOR LYNCHING PARTY."

Senator Lewis, who spoke on May 27, 1941, against Westbrook Pegler, comes from the town which staged this lynching, and yet he could declare:

"Mr. President, no more courageous, no more virile, no more cultured, courtly and patriotic people ever lived than now dwell midst the beauty and quietude of the red clay hills of North Florida.

"Westbrook Pegler does not understand and appreciate the high honor, character, culture and patriotism of the people of this section of Florida for he has never risen to their high level of life and they have not retrogressed to his gutter level of life."

What Pegler Said

"According to the newspaper accounts, the lynching of a Negro in a little town in northwestern Florida a few nights ago was an episode which, for bestiality, could be matched only in cultural exercises of the super-race of Adolf Hitler.

"The section of the country in which this horror occurred is in the social and intellectual slum which, according to the hearsay historians of Florida, was populated by low whites who fled from the other southern states, notably Georgia and Alabama, to escape service in the Civil war, and the white population is distinguished from the Negroes only in the matter of complexion and other racial characteristics.

"It should be easy to catch and convict all the murderers, but any serious attempt to do so probably would result in either local revolution or such a farce as would further discredit the law and civilization.

Civilized Outwardly

"Many areas of Florida are civilized only in a few outward appearances, for the state still consists largely of frontier and backwoods. . . .

"Florida is an adolescent, irresponsible and, thus far, incorrigible state whose most respected political and civic leaders in the urban areas have frankly insisted that it is necessary, in the interests of progress and prosperity to connive at crime and build on vice and official corruption. . . .

"In the crude back country the conditions of life are primitive, and habitations may be seen from the highway in which there are neither panes nor screens to the windows, and creatures having the physical appearances of human beings live in such squalor as to revolt the very buzzards.

"It is not to scold the people of the state that such observations are made, but rather to indicate how it can be that white men, claiming to be members of a superior breed, can so degrade themselves and embarrass the race in which they hold technical membership in an effort to impress their superiority on their Negro neighbors. . . .

"There is never any reason or excuse for the lynching of a Negro in Florida, and it must be added that the worse the crime the less the white man need concern himself about a miscarriage of justice. . . .

"Civilization can't be hurried in the Florida swamps and backwoods, on either the whites or the Negroes. Each degrades the other, but the white man has moments when he can really show the Negro a very recognizable stump of the tail by which his not so remote ancestors swung from tangled vines amid the stunted trees."

Woman Would Join Mob

Many of the letters to the editors of the daily papers in Florida answered Pegler's column with threats of violence. One woman wrote, "If they ever stage another nice jolly lynching up there I hope they will give me the pleasure of being in on it."

Some of the letters follow:

"I wish to express my view on Pegler, regarding Florida and its citizenry. We deny the allegations and we can whip the "alligator." We include three grandsons with a gross tonnage of football playing and boxing manhood aggregating about 500 pounds.

"While we have not reached the sublime heights of civilization, where they 'bump 'em off' for a few dollars of insurance money, we

(*Continued on page* 236)

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

Destroying Dixie's Dictatorship

Pittsburgh, Pa., *Courier*

Since 1876 when the North tired of Reconstruction and turned the Negro over to the Southern oligarchy of planters, merchants and bankers, Dixie has been a dictatorship as rigid as any extant; but last week the U. S. Supreme Court handed down a decision that may spell its doom.

By a 4 to 3 vote, with Chief Justice Hughes not participating, the High Court held that Congress has the power to regulate primary elections for the nomination of candidates for Federal offices, and under this decision there is a possibility of also abolishing the poll tax.

When the North made its deal with the South in 1876, as an outcome of the Hayes-Tilden election controversy, and thereby washed its hands of the freedmen, the doom of the Southern Negro as a voter was sealed.

Negroes continued to be a factor in Congressional elections in isolated sections as late as 1900, but a combination of terror and biased legislation finally eliminated them from any influence in national elections as far as the South was concerned.

While the second section of the Fourteenth Amendment has long offered an opportunity to Congress to penalize States denying citizens the right to vote by cutting their Congressional apportionment, both Republican and Democratic Congresses have neglected or refused to so implement the Amendment.

Now, in ruling against five New Orleans election officials accused of ballot alterations and fraudulent vote counting, the U. S. Supreme Court holds that Congress has full power over the hitherto sacrosanct Southern Democratic primaries from which Negro citizens are habitually barred.

This decision threatens to completely overthrow the entire system of political dictatorship based on racial extraction and economic status with which the reactionary South has mocked democracy.

In handing down the majority decision, Justice Stone said: ". . . a primary election which involves a necessary step in the choice of candidates for election of representatives in Congress, and which in the circumstances of this case, controls that choice, is an election within the meaning of the Constitutional provision and is subject to Congressional regulation as in the manner of holding it. . . .

"The primary in Louisiana is an integral part of the procedure for the popular choice of Congressman. The right of qualified voters to vote at the Congressional primary in Louisiana and to have their ballots counted is the right to participate in that choice."

Cramp's shipyard is, perhaps more than any other shipbuilding company, doing business today as a direct result of public bounty. Taxes amounting to millions were abated and public funds were poured into its treasury so that it could open for business to build ships for national defense.

Word now comes from high authority that Cramp's shipyard has requested the National Youth Administration and the Philadelphia Board of Education to train 200 machine tool operators with the stipulation that they train only SECOND GENERATION, WHITE YOUTHS.

This is a diabolical scheme for two very self-evident reasons: (1) It is building up class and race distinctions with public money and (2) it jeopardizes national defense, the very thing which the shipyard was opened to help.—Philadelphia, Pa., *Tribune*

The Democratic party in the South has lost its standing as a "private club" with the privilege of choosing who may vote in its primary election. The supreme court of the United States in ruling that the federal government has control over primaries as well as general elections has struck a blow at the system by which Negroes have been barred systematically from the polls below the Mason and Dixon line.—Kansas City, Mo., *Call.*

"The uneducated nation is the nation most easily kept in bondage; for that reason, Adolf Hitler always will be the enemy of education." So spoke U. S. Senator James F. Byrnes of South Carolina in dedicating the $560,000 library building at the University of South Carolina Monday. . . .

One week before the senator spoke the South Carolina legislature struck out a $10 monthly raise for Negro teachers, "making $50 a month and less" to vote through the legislature a $10 monthly pay boost for white teachers who are already receiving $90 a month and more and work longer terms. The Negro schools and teachers are hardpressed and overworked. The Negro teacher, in many instances, does twice the work for half the pay of the white teacher.

While Adolf Hitler may be an enemy of education what about the enemies of education in America, in South Carolina where the Negro is concerned? On this subject the senator did not speak.—Charleston, S. C., *Lighthouse and Informer*

Nevertheless, we believe that it is up to the President in this state of emergency, when he has vastly increased powers and authority, to remove the bottleneck of racial discrimination in the great drive for total defense. By a single proclamation the President can today unleash the fettered energy of the black millions of America who are ready, willing and able to make America impregnable to attack. Discrimination because of color as an instrument of public and governmental policy would be scuttled and a mighty blow in behalf of the true democracy would be struck. The time has come for the ruler of this nation to speak out against these forces which threaten America from within and as well as from without.—Detroit, Mich., *Chronicle*

Over at Fort Bragg, North Carolina, a startling discovery has been made. At least, it will be startling to a small group of prejudiced army officials. It has been revealed through extensive vision tests that Negroes see better at night than white folk.

Just now, in this world of mechanical viciousness, ability to see is at a premium. America has developed the finest bomb sight in the world, but what is there to a bomb sight unless operatives manning airships have expertness of vision? A bomb sight is worthless unless directed by the effectiveness of penetrating eyesight. . . .

But if America continues its Jim Crow tactics regarding entry of Negroes in the air corps, America will be wilfully refusing to place its great and highly developed bomb sights in the hands of those American citizens having the best optics. Could one imagine anything more stupid, and should not individuals who conspire to sabotage the fine eyesight of black Americans be regarded as subversive?—Oklahoma City, Okla., *Black Dispatch*

Peonage

(*Continued from page 219*)

ended in the indictment of William T. Cunningham and Hamilton McWhorter on charges of *"conspiracy to retain and hold Negroes in a condition of peonage and slavery."*

A federal Grand Jury in an 11-page document returned this indictment in Chicago on May 30, 1941. It is only the first step—but a significant one. *"The indictment charges,"* says U. S. Attorney J. Albert Woll who pressed the charges, *"that for many years Cunningham has enslaved Negroes on his plantations, inducing them to come to work by promises of wages and getting them out of jail or off of the chain-gang. Once on the plantations, the indictment recities, the Negroes were no longer free. They received no wages and Cunningham instilled in them the fear of running away by lashing them with straps and by causing them to be imprisoned on a Georgia chain-gang if they attempted to run away."*

For months the Department of Justice hemmed, hawed and refused to act though it was presented with untold affidavits proving these facts, provided with the names and addresses of Cunningham's ex-slaves in Chicago, Washington, Baltimore, Cincinnati, and Atlanta, and even with a report from an FBI man, Joseph Lyman, who had made a trip to Georgia in the summer of 1940 to get a first hand picture of the conditions on W. T. Cunningham's farm. He found conditions to be even worse than had been charged in the affidavits submitted to the Department of Justice by the Abolish Peonage Committee.

But the forces behind the fight for prosecution of the guilty had learned in other struggles not to take no for an answer.

Huff Leads Fight

Leading figure in this fight has been William Henry Huff. Huff came to Chicago from Georgia. He knew of conditions in the county where he had been born and he determined to do something about them, no matter what the cost. He worked as a druggist—at anything he could get to do. He studied law and passed the bar. He kept banging away at Oglethorpe county peonage. He helped some of the colored people to escape—literally—from Georgia and assisted them in Chicago. He spent not only his time, but put in his own money. Finally, he succeeded in organizing the Abolish Peonage committee, of which he is chief counsel.

The Associated Press reports that McWhorter's only comment when informed of his indictment was, "It's just some of that Chicago stuff."

McWhorter will find that he is much mistaken. He will find that he is faced with a fight for the complete abolition of peonage. McWhorter's predecessors didn't like Abolitionists either.

Cunningham has already discovered that he is not "the government." It is difficult to speak dispassionately about Cunningham. Human slavery with all its unspeakable brutality is something we have all been taught to think of as hideous, but of the past, in the history of our country. The fact that it still exists makes those of us who abhor injustice, inequality, cruelty, only more determined to do everything in our power to wipe it out. Side by side with the fight against lynching, against the poll tax, against discrimination in education, in jobs, in national defense there will be the fight for the abolition of peonage. This means a fight for prosecution and conviction of the Mr. Cunninghams who think their victims have no friends.

They have—powerful friends—Negro and white—whose power lies in their number and in their belief in the truly American way of life. Cunningham's way doesn't belong in that definition.

N.A.A.C.P. Secretary on Picket Line

McNeill Photo

WALTER WHITE

Mr. White joined the picket line in Washington, D. C., against a Safeway grocery store which, although enjoying heavy Negro patronage, refuses to employ any Negro clerks

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Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Murder in Courtroom Stirs Interest in Conference at Houston

Just as the 31st annual conference of the NAACP in Philadelphia, Pa., in 1940, was fired by the lynching of Elbert Williams in Brownsville, Tenn., and the wholesale terror against that little NAACP branch, so has the 32nd annual conference in Houston, Texas, been stirred by the cold-blooded murder of Bob White in a Conroe, Texas, courtroom on June 10.

A wave of anger has spread over the nation which is bound to be reflected in the deliberations at Houston. For Bob White, illiterate farm hand, had been defended by lawyers of the NAACP since August, 1937. Twice had he been saved from death by reversals of his convictions in the higher court, once in the Texas court of appeals and once in the United States supreme court.

In Houston the discussion of the legal defense work of the Association will be sharpened by the memory of the Bob White case.

An interesting program of speeches and group discussions has been arranged for the conference. The legal work of the Association will receive prominent attention during the conference sessions, but the spotlight will be upon the Negro in the national defense program. One evening mass meeting will be devoted to this topic, as well as an entire day of discussion.

The White Primary

Opening the conference Tuesday night, June 24, will be a keynote address by Roscoe Dunjee, member of the national board of directors, and editor of the *Black Dispatch* of Oklahoma City, Okla.

The other principal address of the opening night will be on the Negro and the franchise, by Herbert Agar, editor of the Louisville, Ky., *Courier Journal*. Mr. Agar, an outstanding liberal, will deal with the white primary, the poll tax, and other topics.

The treatment of the Negro in national defense will be the subject of two speeches Wednesday night, June 25 when A. Philip Randolph, international president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, and W. Robert Ming, Jr., of Washington, D. C., will be the speakers.

Government on Spot

The temper of the NAACP branches

James Photo

The annual Detroit, Mich., membership campaign reported up to June 14, 5344 members and $5970.65 in cash. Detailed information about the campaign, with team reports, will appear in the next issue. In the photo above, standing, left to right are: Mrs. Eva Sweeney, Mrs. Cassie A. Morris, Mrs. Ruth Ellis, Mrs. Gladys Arnold, Mrs. Charles F. Simmons, Mrs. Beulah Carter, Dr. C. G. Constable, Wilhelmenia Brown, Mrs. Irene McClendon, Claude H. Cooper, Mrs. Myrtle C. Cook, Rosalee Barrett. Seated, l. to r.: Mrs. Emma Watson, Mrs. Rochelle Davis, Dr. W. A. Thompson, Mrs. Pearl Phillips, Mrs. C. Curry, Dr. McClendon, Mrs. W. A. Thompson

McNeill Photo

Shown above are the delegates to the national organization of Girl Friends, Inc., which met recently in Washington, D. C. The organization has chapters in Baltimore, Md., Brooklyn, N. Y., Boston, Mass., New Haven, Conn., New Jersey, Newport News, Va., New York City, Philadelphia, Pa., Richmond, Va., Springfield, Mass., and the District of Columbia. At the Washington meeting the organization completed its payment of $500 for a life membership in the NAACP. Among the other organizations which are paid-up life members of the Association are the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity, the International Longshoremen's Union, No. 858, the Alpha Kappa Alpha sorority, and the Afro American Newspapers, Inc. Among the organizations which are paying upon life memberships are the Beaux Arts club, Newark, N. J., Afro American Life Insurance Company, Jacksonville, Fla., Omega Psi Phi fraternity, Delta Sigma Theta sorority, Zeta Phi Beta sorority, Phi Delta Kappa sorority, and the Order of the Eastern Star, Mobile, Ala. Paid-up life members have their names, or the name of the organization, inscribed on a permanent bronze plaque in the NAACP national office in New York. At present there are 35 paid-up life members, with a slight majority of them colored.

Henderson Photo

Two hundred and three delegates to the first Maryland state conference of NAACP branches, Sharp Street Methodist church, Baltimore, May 24 and 25. In the front row are: Mrs. Enolia McMillan (to the right of boy in striped shirt), who was elected president of the state conference; George B. Murphy, Sr., (holding loving cup), who was the recipient of a testimonial luncheon by the conference and a loving cup from the Baltimore branch because of his leadership in the successful effort to equalize the salaries of Maryland county Negro teachers; and Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, (print dress, to the right) president of the Baltimore branch, who organized and sponsored this first Maryland state conference

on the national defense question indicates that on Thursday, June 26, the delegates will have some sharp questions for the various government administrative assistants who will be present to tell what the government is doing for the Negro, particularly about employment.

Carl R. Johnson, of Kansas City, Mo., will tell of the struggle in his area for jobs, and of the cold-blooded statement of J. H. Kindelberger, president of North American Aviation, that no Negroes would be hired in the new Kansas City plant except as janitors.

J. L. LeFlore of Mobile, Ala., will report on efforts to break down barriers in defense training schools, and Sidney R. Redmond of St. Louis will tell how the threat to sue the board of education produced results in his city. Ernest Marshall, on the staff of the defense training division of the Detroit, Mich., board of education, will report on the wide training being given there without discrimination.

Unions and Negroes

The important question of labor unions and the part they have played, or can play, in getting jobs for Negroes in industry, or in keeping Negroes out of jobs, will be discussed by Horace R. Cayton, of Chicago, author of the book, "Negro Workers and the New Unions."

Dr. Robert C. Weaver, of OPM in Washington, is expected to reveal what, if anything, has been done by OPM on discrimination against Negro workers in defense plants. Dr. Ira DeA. Reid, of the U. S. Employment Service, will answer questions and give advice on job placement.

The treatment of Negroes in the armed forces will be handled by Judge William H. Hastie, civilian aide to the Secretary of War. Delegates are aroused over reports, just now seeping out, of the mistreatment of Negro soldiers in several army camps, and the reports that Negro doctors in some camps are being treated as hospital orderlies.

Speakers for Youth night of the conference will be Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, president of Talladega college, and Madison S. Jones, Jr., director of youth work for the Association. A complete program on youth problems will parallel the adult conference, and will be held in BeBee Temple church.

Medal to Wright

The day sessions Friday, the 27th, will be devoted to legal defense and education, and to NAACP internal organization problems.

The 26th Spingarn medal will be presented to Richard Wright, author of the novel, "Native Son," on Friday night, June 27, by Elmer A. Carter, of New York, member of the appeals board of the New York State Unemployment Insurance Fund.

Sessions will be held in Good Hope Baptist Church, Wilson and Saulnier streets, of which the Rev. A. A. Lucas, president of the Houston NAACP, is pastor. A round of entertainment has been arranged for the delegates who will come from thirty-two states and the District of Columbia.

Byrnes Named to High Court Despite Record

Senator James F. Byrnes of South Carolina was nominated to be associate justice of the United States supreme court June 12 despite protests which had been lodged with President Roosevelt in April, citing the long anti-Negro

record of the senator. Byrnes, out of senatorial courtesy, was confirmed in eleven minutes. The new justice has no record whatsoever in favor of the Negro or in favor of measures which would benefit Negroes. He fought the anti-lynching bill tooth and toenail, opposed appropriations for Howard university. He comes from a state in which only 5.2%of the whole population was allowed to vote in the 1940 presidential election.

It was known in advance that the only chance of blocking Byrnes was to prevail upon the President not to nominate him. Once named, confirmation was almost automatic as the senate has never refused to confirm one of its own members to sit on the United States supreme court bench.

Federal Probe Asked In Bob White Killing

As the proof of this page was being corrected, news arrived that W. S. Cochran had been acquitted June 16 of the charge of murdering White by a jury at Conroe, Texas, which "deliberated" only two minutes.

Promptly upon receipt of the news of the killing of Bob White, June 10, in a courtroom in Conroe, Tex., the NAACP sent a telegram to Attorney General Robert H. Jackson, urging action by the Department of Justice under a little used federal statute, the so-called civil rights law. The telegram, signed by Walter White, NAACP secretary:

"The National Association for the Advancement of Colored People requests the Department of Justice to institute immediately an investigation of the shooting June 10 of Bob White by W. S. Cochran in the district courtroom at Conroe, Tex. We submit there is basis for investigation by Department of Justice under section 47, sub-section 2, and section 48 of chapter 3 of title 8, of the United States code, annotated, covering civil rights."

Background of the Bob White case, which received little publicity, included following items: (1) White, an illiterate farm hand, was rushed to trial during the vacation term of court in August, 1937. (2) White was beaten for four successive days and nights and finally signed a statement prepared by one Zimmie Forman, intimate friend of Cochran, husband of the woman alleged to have been raped. (3) On the day of the trial all Negroes in Livingstone, Tex., were driven out of town except a few witnesses for White who were herded under heavy armed guard into the grand jury room and from there escorted under armed guard to and from the witness chair, obviously so terrorized their testimony was of no value to defendant. (3) Sheriff R. D. Holliday, who had held office for almost twenty years, was forced to resign his post because he protected White from a mob at the time of his arrest with more than 100 deputies and a number of Texas Rangers; the brother of Cochran was on the sheriff's surety bond and he is reported to have withdrawn his signature. (4) Fingerprints were taken at the scene of the crime, and also a plaster cast of a footprint, but the state did not introduce these in evidence; the assumption is that the state most certainly would have introduced this evidence if the fingerprints and footprints had been White's. (5) White was suffering from a venereal disease at the time, but examination of Mrs. Cochran by a doctor six hours after the alleged crime showed no traces of the disease and nothing was said in the evidence on this point. (6) The first trial of White was so "raw" that even the Texas criminal court of appeals reversed his conviction. (7) The second conviction, although affirmed by the Texas court, was reversed by the U. S. supreme court March 25, 1940 on the ground that the "confession" of White was extracted by torture.

Biggest question in the minds of most people was: "Why would a wealthy *white* land owner, four years after the crime was committed, feel it necessary, *in Texas,* to enter a courtroom and shoot to death an illiterate *Negro* being tried on a charge of raping a white Texas woman?"

Henderson Photo

Officers of Local 858 of the International Longshoremen's Union, receive life membership medal from Walter White, Executive Secretary, NAACP, at the closing session of the First State Conference of Maryland NAACP Branches, Sunday, May 25. L. to r.: William Haile, president; Herman Jews, business agent of the Longshoremen's Union; Mrs. Lillie M. Jackson, president of the Baltimore branch, who secured the $500 life membership from the union; and Walter White

Administration Pressure Brought on March to D.C.

As we go to press, the Administration is bringing the greatest pressure from very high sources upon the leaders of the Negro March to Washington to get them to call off the demonstration scheduled for the nation's capital July 1.

Secretary of War Henry Stimson, Secretary of the Navy Frank Knox, Mayor Fiorello H. LaGuardia, and three other persons very close to the White House have been seeking to get the march cancelled.

Arguments are that the D.C. cops are "bad" and "someone might get hurt;" that such a march will put the "friends" of the Negro "on the 'spot';" that "progress" is being made in getting Negroes jobs in defense industries and that this march will undo the "good work."

To these ideas the committee thus far has turned a deaf ear and plans are proceeding to stage a gigantic protest demonstration before the Lincoln Memorial July 1.

Very latest developments to press time are (1) Congressman Arthur W. Mitchell, in his commencement address to Howard university graduates June

13 devoted much time to condemning the march; (2) the *Daily Worker*, Communist organ, in an editorial, sounded a call to "take over" the march from its present leaders and make it not a protest against the exclusion of the Negro from the defense program, but a protest "against the Administration's entire foreign policy and war program."

Leaders of the march are fighting hard to keep it free from the Reds; also wondering whether Congressman Mitchell and the *Pittsburgh Courier*, also opposing the march, had been influenced by the jittery Administration.

Salary Victory

The Louisville, Ky., board of education agreed May 27 in writing that contracts for teachers for the school year 1941–42 would be issued on a salary scale without discrimination as to race or color. Hitherto there has been a differential of 15 per cent between white and colored teachers.

NAACP Staff Notes

Walter White was the commencement speaker for the graduating class of Fisk university June 2. Dean William Pickens was granted a year's leave of absence by the board of directors May 12 to permit him to accept an appointment with the Treasury department in Washington as an assistant in the sale of defense savings bonds. Roy Wilkins was appointed May 29 as a member of New York City Appeal Board No. 5 in the Selective Service, whose jurisdiction covers twenty local draft boards in eastern Manhattan, embracing Fifth avenue and Park avenue.

Branch News

Arizona: The Phoenix branch presented during April, E. Frederic Morrow of the national office, as their guest speaker. Mr. Morrow urged that all branches forget petty bickerings and form a united front in the Association to fight discrimination against the Negro in this democracy. Thomas Browne, industrial arts teacher in the Phoenix Union Colored high school is the president of the branch.

On May 10, a motorcade led by President C. B. Wilcox, took the Winslow branch to Flagstaff for a joint meeting with that branch. T. W. Garrison had charge of publicity, and Mrs. Phillips, principal of Dunbar school, had charge of the Flagstaff branch program, and Mrs. R. Jones handled the Winslow program. In the latter part of the month the branch mourned the passing of their secretary C. N. Payne, who had been a Spanish-American war veteran.

California: Dr. Asta Ohn Gee, lecturer for the University of California, told members of the Needles branch in an address recently, "the U. S. has an excellent system of free public education."

District of Columbia: The District of Columbia branch is supporting the strike of the S. & W. Cafeteria workers. Almost all of the workers are colored—130 out of 180 are on strike—and they are asking for a wage increase of $2 weekly, a 48-hour week, four paid holidays a year, and the abolition of the split shift. The S. & W. is the largest privately owned cafeteria in Washington, and a successful conclusion to this strike would have far-reaching effects on the improvement of employment conditions of other cafeteria workers. A resolution adopted by the executive committee of the branch called upon the public to respect the picket line and urged the management of the cafeteria to meet with union representatives to adjust the grievances. The United States Conciliation Service of the Department of Labor was asked to use its influence to settle the strike. Interested persons were asked to assist in the picketing and to contribute to the fund for the soup kitchen for the strikers, and their other day-to-day needs.

Indiana: Attorney Charles M. LaFollette addressed the Evansville branch in May in connection with the drive for 500 members. Robert Anglin is the branch president.

The Terre Haute branch sponsored a special program at the Highland Baptist church on May 25. The senior choir sang and the Youths' Progressive club installed their officers.

Iowa: S. Joe Brown, Des Moines attorney, was the guest speaker for the Marshalltown branch in May. He gave the history of the Association and discussed the 15 cases won before the supreme court. Louis Shetler and Freddie Hawkins also gave addresses. Rev. S. A. Nelson gave the invocation, and C. T. Brown sang, accompanied by Mrs. Evelyn Wilder. A local defense unit has been organized by Mr. Brown, with Rev. M. Nelson as chairman and Rev. E. W. Rogers, C. T. Brown, Mrs. Addie Howard and Rose Bannon as officers.

When the Ottumwa branch investigated the situation, the principal of Ottumwa high school informed them that Julian Winston, state champion orator, was not entered in the national oratorical contest at Lexington. Ky., because of the fear on the part of the school authorities that the boy might suffer embarrassment because of his color.

Kansas: Sixteen men responded to the call sent out by Sylvester C. Powell, deacon of the Little Flock Baptist church for an organizational meeting of the Association in Chetopa, in May. Mrs. J. W. Wright, president of the Parsons branch, was the guest speaker. Temporary officers elected were Clarence Adkinson, president, Robert Bassett, secretary, and Sylvester C. Powell, treasurer. Application will soon be made for a charter. Refreshments were served by the ladies. Mrs. Edna Lowthan, PTA president, and Helen Bassett and Elsie Horton, principal and teacher respectively, in the Douglass school, promised support of the branch.

Kentucky: A colored branch of the Carnegie library has been opened in Middlesboro as a result of the efforts on the part of the local branch of the NAACP, the city and contributing friends.

The Louisville branch sponsored an open meeting the end of May, at which time Mrs. Annie Waller, mother of the sharecropper accused of killing his landlord, was presented. Speakers included Pauli Murray, of the Workers Defense League, and Prof. H. C. Russell, Negro state director of the W.P.A. Rev. W. A. Jones presided.

Louisiana: Dr. Charles C. Taylor, president of the New Orleans branch, gave an address at the First street Methodist church in May. The branch conducted a membership drive in May.

Minnesota: Earl B. Dickerson, Chicago alderman, spoke for the membership campaign mass meeting of the Minneapolis branch in May.

New Jersey: Dr. A. L. Threlkeld, superintendent of schools in Montclair, and Frank Reeves, research assistant in the legal department of the national office, were speakers at the meeting of the State Conference of Branches in Montclair on May 24.

E. Frederic Morrow addressed the May 21 meeting of the Trenton branch.

The Atlantic City branch went on record in a recent meeting as demanding that segregation in related training classes under the national defense set-up under the NYA be discontinued. Roscoe Carroll, president and James King, executive board member, reporting on a conference with Andrew Ferguson, supervisor, said that colored students are located at a separate school and are being instructed by an interested citizen who is not being paid by the set-up.

New York: With the cooperation of Dr. Scott and Dr. Bess of the New Rochelle branch, and Mr. Waters, of the Mamaroneck branch, and other interested workers, the Port Chester branch has been organized under the presidency of John Moore. Getting under way in May, the branch reports 67 members, and was able to send a delegate, John Moore, to the state conference in Hempstead, L. I. The branch has in recent weeks been busy raising money to send a delegate to the Houston conference. The delegate is John Moore, and the alternate, Grimshaw Boozer.

Alfred Baker Lewis is representing the Peekskill branch at the national conference in Houston, Texas.

As a result of the continued efforts and long fight waged by the Jamaica, L. I., branch and other persons interested in the community, Police Commissioner Valentine has pledged additional police protection in the South Jamaica area. The branch, under the presidency of Dr. John A. Singleton, has long fought against the poorly-lighted streets, narrow roads, lack of supervised playgrounds, and juvenile delinquency, and has requested that more Negro police be assigned there.

Among delegates who were guests of the Nassau county branch at the recent New York state conference, reported on in the June issue, were Lionel C. Barrow, president of the New York city branch; Gordon H. Jones, Jamaica, vice-president of the state conference; Mrs. Jones, Staten Island; Mrs. George D. Bowks, president of the Albany branch; Dr. E. E. Bess, president in New Rochelle; Fred M. Turner, president in Brooklyn; and Vastor Johnson, president of the Far Rockaway branch. Committee workers for the Nassau county branch included Mrs. Judson B. Branche, Marion Greene, Mrs. Hazel Hanna, Mrs. Isabelle Jackson, Benjamin J. Lowry and

Dr. Frederick Richards, who conducted an auto tour for the visitors.

Virginia: The Halifax county branch in April, presented in a public meeting, Mrs. Constance E. H. Daniel of the administrator's office in the Farm Security Administration. To an appreciative audience, Mrs. Daniel carefully explained just what the FSA plans are as related to farmers, owners, tenants, sharecroppers, etc., for improvement of living, working and economical status. Other participants in the program were W. Lester Banks, Elder A. C. Carr, Rev. J. H. Bailey, Charles Crawford, R. R. Hamilton, Dr. D. V. Estill, Nannie Jennings, H. S. Sykes, Mrs. Willie Sykes, and W. C. Edwards, principal of the Halifax Training School.

Ella Baker, field worker of the national office, gave an address for the Norfolk county branch meeting in May.

West Virginia: Robert C. Darrah of the Wheeling Housing authority gave an illustrated address before the meeting of the Wheeling branch, in the latter part of May.

Jacksonville, Fla., youth council; l. to r., seated: Samuel Wiggins, vice-president; Mary Newton, secretary; Harry Limbric, Carrie Bell Cowart, Mary A. Black, Earnestine Latson, Jennie Ellison. Standing: N. W. Griffin, co-sponsor, James Lewis, Hattie J. Griffin, Margarette Ellison, Harriet Mathis, Norma Littlejohn, Frank Smith, Angeline Blakely, Mrs. T. E. Griffin, sponsor, and D. W. Sweet, co-sponsor. Not pictured are Harold Martin, president, Janet Prince, treasurer, and Ruth Gainons

Youth Council News

New Members

Winding up their spring membership campaign, the Montclair, N. J., council reports four new members this month. They are Roger Bass, George Hillman, Donald Miller, and Bessie Woodson. Elsie Gibbs is the chairman of the membership committee.

New Oklahoma Officers

Newly elected officers in the Oklahoma State Council included Bernezetta Littles, Tulsa, president; Theodore Malone, Wewoka, and Emory H. Jennings, Muskogee, vice-presidents; John Cooper, Muskogee, secretary; Ida M. Burns, recording secretary; George Hubbard, Muskogee, treasurer; Buelah H. Moore, Wewoka, sing leader; Leon White, Muskogee, parliamentarian; Julius Moran, Tulsa, chaplain. Oklahoma plans to send its officers to represent the Council at the Conference in Houston.

Activities

Tulsa, Okla.—This is one of the most active and progressive councils in the country. In addition to forming and carrying on a militant and active local program, and taking a large interest in the Oklahoma state conference, the Tulsa council has been most conscientious in keeping the youth director informed of its activities. Just received from Julius Moran, the council's publicity director, is a neatly bound notebook, containing news of the council projects during the 1940-1941 period. Included are clippings concerning the visit of the youth director to Oklahoma; a youth mass meeting, held Sunday, April 27th; the election of Bernzetta Littles, of Tulsa, as head of the State NAACP councils; a NAACP Youth Herald, a mimeographed news sheet put out by the council; information about the clean-up, paint-up, fix-up campaign, sponsored by the council, which included a parade, a mass meeting, and active participation by members in cleaning up city eye-sores.

The youth director visited with the Tulsa branch recently. One of the most interesting forms of endeavor is the instituting of a class in salesmanship by the council, which is being taught by one of the advertising managers of a department store in that city. Many new members have been added to the group in addition to learning a worthwhile occupation, which is open to all of the community.

Detroit, Mich.—The first observance of National Negro Youth week was carried out in Detroit, climaxed by a city-wide youth rally, at which time, Edward Strong, of the Southern Negro Youth Congress, was the principal speaker. Two new youth councils of the association have been tentatively set up in Detroit, one in Hamtramck, and the other in the Jefferson school area. This city already has seven councils established, functioning under the system of multiple councils. Membership at the present time comprises about one thousand young people, and it is evident that more will be added if the present plans for the two new groups go through successfully.

Springfield, Mass.—The latest money-raising method was reported from Springfield where quite a sum was realized from the sale of Mother's day carnations. The group also reported a wide sale of Negro Youth week tags.

Louisville, Ky.—This council has just sent to the national office a list of 35 new memberships. They also enclosed news of the sale of one hundred of the National Negro Youth week tags. Reports for the sale of Christmas Seals was made, and the annual conference assessment was met. They have elected new officers and there is every indication shown that this council is off to a most successful youth year.

Clark College—The board of directors granted a charter to the newly formed college chapter at Clark College, Atlanta, Georgia. Organization work of this group was initiated and carried out by Anderson Davis, former president of the student advisory committee of the annual student conference of the Association. Mr. Davis is now a student of Gammon Theological Seminary in Atlanta.

Flint, Mich.—A permanent charter of the Association was granted to this youth council in April. Active participation was entered into by this group in the observing of National Negro Youth week. At the present time, they are engaged is a membership drive.

Milford, Ohio—The youth council received its charter from the Association in April.

Waterloo, Iowa — This council recently produced Thomas Richardson's play, "Place: America." This work dramatically presents the work of the Association and has done much to bring before the public the actual picturization of the happenings of the times here in America.

Jacksonville, Fla.—The newly formed youth council of Jacksonville has applied to the national office for its permanent charter. The group was formed under

the sponsorship of Mrs. T. E. Griffin, and showed exceptional willingness to augment their membership so that their charter would be considered before the Houston conference.

Newark, Ohio—The council reports a successful observance of National Negro Youth week. The sale of Youth Week tags was particularly good. Much interest on the part of local youth and adults was gained, and next year's observance is looked forward to with marked anticipation.

Norristown, Pa.—Carolyn Davenport reports great interest in National Negro Youth week. They are at the present time engaged in the making of an NYA report which should be finished at an early date. The Eastern District State Leaders Council sponsored a dance in June, in Philadelphia, to raise funds for its defense work. Several local high school students wrote their term essays on the work of the NAACP. Norristown expects to send an active delegation to the Houston convention.

News Notes

Officers of the newly chartered Milford, Ohio, youth council include Catherine Buckner, president; Richard Brooks, vice-president; Dorothy Gaskins, secretary; and Harry Gordon, treasurer. The Des Moines, Iowa youth council, has recently reorganized. Present officers of this group are Charles Johnson, president; Thomas Avant, vice-president; Edythe Ann Gray, secretary; Fred Morrow, treasurer; and Charles Howard, Jr., chairman of publicity. Officers now presiding in the Flint, Mich., youth council include, John Gibson, Jr., president; James W. Murgerson, vice-president; Portia Rolland, secretary; and Bessie Ennis, treasurer. The council in Cleveland, Ohio, announces its reorganization with the following officers: Gilbert R. Raiford, president; Ardelia B. Bardley and Dwight H. Hykes, vice-presidents; Garnett M. Ferrel, secretary; Natalie I. Middleton, corresponding secretary, and Lawrence Hawkins, treasurer.

N. Y. Youth Assembly

The third Western New York Assembly of Negro Youth convened at Buffalo, N. Y., May 23-25. This group was initiated three years ago by the Buffalo youth council. Some 250 delegates were present. Panel discussions included topics on unemployment problems of Negro youth, politics and citizenship, and education. Speakers included Dr. Channing H. Tobias, National Council YWCA, Judge Charles T. Yeager, of the Buffalo City Court, Robert H. Persons, Assistant Personnel Director, Curtiss-Wright Corp., Rev. J. E. Rose, of Rochester, N. Y., and Madison S. Jones, Jr., NAACP youth director.

Essay Contest Winners Receive Awards

Winners of the first annual essay contest were: in the high school division, first prize, Helen Deloney, Idabel, Okla.; second prize, Earnestine Richmond, Wewoka, Okla. Third prize, which was a tie, went to Moses A. Blackwell, Tuskegee Institute, Ala., and Carmen Willette of Belleville, N. J.

Winners in the college division were Isaac G. Moran, Tulsa, Okla., first prize; Hugh M. Hill, Cleveland, Ohio, second prize; and Grant S. Shockley, Lincoln university, Pa., third prize.

The awards totalling $500 were made at the annual youth night mass meeting at the Houston conference. Prizes for the essay contest were considered in the nature of scholarships so that these young people could be further helped in pursuing their education.

Annual Conference Speakers, Leaders

The youth section of the annual conference, at Houston, had as leaders and speakers Dr. Buell G. Gallagher, Talladega, Ala., speaker for the annual youth night mass meeting; Judge William H. Hastie, Civilian Aide to the Secretary of War; W. Robert Ming, Jr., Howard university law school; Thomas Holley, Texas superintendent national defense training classes for Negroes; John W. Rice, in charge of Negro affairs, NYA, Texas; Ann Caution, in charge of Negro Affairs, Oklahoma; Vera S. Dial, county demonstration Cooperative Extension Work, Texas; Walter White, secretary of the Association, who made the awards to the winners of the first annual essay contest.

Round table and panel discussions included national defense and youth, Negro youth, the NYA, and rural problems and youth.

Council Notes

Talladega College—This chapter has made its final payment on the yearly assessment of $25 which is levied against each youth council and college chapter.

Morningside Youth Council, New York City—At the present time the council is engaged in working on the committee formed by NYA workers in an effort to protect their jobs and present projects, and put an end to the mass firing which has been so prevalent in recent weeks. In a letter to the youth director, they state that they have entered a campaign to keep the nursery and kindergarten projects that have been established at the Church of the Master, New York, from being dropped as unnecessary. They are working towards the reinstatement of dismissed workers. One of their first steps was the holding of a mass meeting in the neighborhood to bring the problem before the public.

New York Youth Council, No. 1—This council reports a marked increase in membership. Their membership drive has been underway for some weeks, and through active work of its membership committee, gratifying results have been obtained. This council is sponsoring a number of forums on national defense, civil liberties, housing, and employment. A comprehensive survey on housing is in the process of being compiled. A unique feature of this project is the inclusion of actual photographs of the various homes visited in an effort to bring to the attention of the Tenement House Commission of New York City the deplorable conditions existing in the area.

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The Crisis

Book Review

PREACHING HILLBILLY

SOUTH OF GOD. **By Cedric Belfrage. New York: Modern Age Books, 1941. 346 pp. $2.50.**

South of God is the religious biography of that great southern preacher of the social gospel, Claude Williams. Claude Williams was born and "took shape" in the "rich womb of the western Tennessee hill country." His people were typical southern hill people and his father Jess "was the second generation from the pioneer settlers" who had been driven into the Tennessee hills through land hunger. Though Williams *père* had Indian blood, Cherokee he said it was, this did not however make him any more sympathetic toward Negroes. "Jess told Claude that a Damrepublican was just a damnigger-lover. That was bad, for one of the earliest lessons Claude learned was that damniggers were not human beings." And it took Claude a long-time to wash this nonsense out of his system. More about that later. Despite her husband's dislike of "damrepublicans" Mrs. Williams was a Republican all her days without knowing exactly the reason why.

Like most southern hill people the Williams eked out a miserable existence on their barren Tennessee hills. They talked the local patois and moved within the narrowly provincial circle of their hills; they worked and fought and "feuded" and prayed as do most hill people. But Claude's mother had always had a vision of better things for her son. She prayerfully wanted him to be a preacher, a great man of God. Claude dutifully went to church and revivals; he wrestled with his Lord, but it seemed that the "call" just would not come.

Instead of joining the hosts of the Lord, Claude finally joined that vast army of itinerant workers who move often aimlessly about the American countryside. Finally Claude, in 1916, joined up with the American Army. He was given a uniform and sent to Texas for training. He finally became one of the best drill-masters in the American Army. Though he was eager to go to France, he never got any closer than an officer's training camp, for the Kaiser gave up four days after he graduated. Again at loose ends he did not know what to do. He was both attracted and repelled by the ministry, and he was fed up with the "democracy" of the period. He finally decided to take a job in South America with an English concern. But before sailing he decided to visit his people. When he got back to the hills, he realized that the South and not South America was the place for him to carve out his future. So he stayed.

He finally got the "call" which he had long sought and very rapidly made himself into a local preacher of some renown. Claude was the rip-snorting, fiery fundamentalist scourging men for their sins and women for their frivolity. If he had not happened upon a book of Fosdick's, which gave him a new vision of Christianity, Williams might have remained for the rest of his life a sort of hillbilly Savonarola. But Fosdick showed him that the Bible and Christianity could be applied to modern life, that his God did not have to be the "angry God" of the Mathers, and that religion could be a thing of this world. This new conversion sent Claude Williams to the Vanderbilt School of Religion to study under Dr. Alva W. Taylor.

Once out of school and back into the life of the world Claude Williams threw himself wholeheartedly into the local struggles of miners and sharecroppers for justice and a greater stake in American life.

One of the first things Williams did when he returned to his pastorate was to invite Negroes into his congregation. Anyone who knows the South can imagine what a bombshell this was. Whites, as would be expected, thought him crazy. The Negroes were hesitant because they could not conceive of a white man in the South practicing such generous Christian principles. Williams' belief in the essential equality of Negroes with whites had come, however, through participation in an Inter-Racial Conference called by the Fellowship of Reconciliation down in the Deep South.

"The camp was a group of frame buildings by the edge of the Gulf of Mexico. Claude ate at table with Negroes that evening for the first time in his life. Old instincts crowded to the surface, and he had to force himself to sit there, at the long table with black people beside and across from them. He realized how concerned he was about who dipped into a dish before he did. He tried to talk unrestrainedly to his neighbors, but it was difficult. He kept reminding himself he must speak the word 'Negro' plainly so that he would not even appear to use the compromise word 'Nigger.' He must not refer to 'Uncles,' 'Aunts,' and 'Mammies.'" And after sleeping in a room with a Negro, Claude was completely shed of his racial prejudices. Negroes were now simply men and brothers and not animals.

This racial conversion was about as significant for Claude Williams as his previous religious conversion. For he now became a leader of the South's underprivileged, not just another leader of its poor whites. He threw himself into the organizing efforts of the sharecroppers union and suffered social ostracism, beatings, and jailing for his convictions. He supported Commonwealth College at Mena and thereby earned the Communist smear. But his advocacy of the cause of the Negro probably earned him more hatred than did his espousal of the cause of the underprivileged whites. Such is the temper of America!

This story of the preacher of a social gospel is significant, one of the most inspiring stories of the age-old struggle of man against tyranny and oppression to come out of the South for many a year. In the South, and America too, it is easy for one to espouse the cause of his own group or class, but for one to broaden his vision to take in the cause and problems of a despised minority betokens the elements of greatness. Few southern leaders of the dispossessed white masses dare take up the cause of the Negro masses whose problems are fundamental with those of the despised and exploited everywhere. Claude Williams has done this and as a result hardly a single southern paper dares mention his name except to sneer. Yet it is such men as he who presage a better day for the American Southland. The South is not hopeless when it can produce such men as a Claude Williams.

Though Claude Williams' story is told by an Englishman, it is accurately and vigor-

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ously told; at times it is even racy. There is no false note in the picture. *South of God* is a most inspiring biography with fruitful lessons for the future of America.

JAMES W. IVY

RECONSTRUCTION IN TENNESSEE

***THE NEGRO IN TENNESSEE, 1865-1880.* By Alrutheus Ambush Taylor, Ph.D. Washington: The Associated Publishers, Inc., 1941. XII+306 pp. $3.00.**

Dr. Taylor has digested a vast amount of material in order to give us this study of the Negro during the Reconstruction period in Tennessee. He treats of the Negro population, the Negro in politics, the Negro emigration movement, the Negro at work and his economic progress, Negro education in the common branches, and the Negro's religious effort and his social and recreational life. The general pattern is much the same as that of Negro status in the other southern states during the transition period between slavery and complete freedom. There was the same determination of the whites to keep the Negro as far down as possible and the equal determination of Negroes to rise and enjoy the full fruits of their citizenship. The style of the book is pedestrian and its material will interest the historian and the specialist rather than the general reader.

JAMES W. IVY

BRAZILIAN NATIONALISM

***O ESTADO NACIONAL* (Sua estructura seu conteudo ideologico). Por Francisco Campos. 2.ª Edição. Rio: Livraria José Olympio Editora, 1940. 257 pp. 20$000.**

When I first heard that Brazil had gone totalitarian, I naturally wondered if she had adopted the Nazi ideology hook-line-and-sinker. I also wondered if she, since she probably has the most heterogenous ethnic mixture of any modern nation, had also gone in completely for the Nazi racial nonsense of Aryanism. Knowing that about forty per cent of the Brazilian population is (Americanly speaking) Negro, I wondered too, how her totalitarian ideologists would resolve this problem. Despite the insistence of certain propagandists I had doubted really if Brazil, though she has a quasi-dictatorship, had adopted European fascism.

Brazil, like the other Latin American countries, has never been a modern democracy. You can't abolish fifteenth and sixteenth-century feudalism overnight. And this is still the social and political and economic pattern of life in most of the Latin American "Republics." In Brazil the pattern of life and government established by the early Portuguese settlers still persists though perhaps in an attenuated form. The *fazendeiros* with their feudal principalities called "captaincies" exercised complete authority over colonists and natives in the old days and their descendants still retain too much power for their own and their country's good.

Getulio Vargas is perhaps a little bolder, or, shall I say a little more honest? than his fellow *caudillos* in acknowledging publicly and quasi-legally the nature of his rule. Vargas is, of course, not the ideologist of his own regime. This privilege has been reserved for his Minister of Government and Justice, Senhor Francisco Campos. Campos is the acknowledged ideologist of the regime and is the man who wrote much, so it is said, of the New Constitution of November 10, 1937. In *The National State: Its Structure and Ideological Content* (which is the English for the title of the book under review) Senhor Campos sets forth the philosophy and ideology of the New State.

Though the book is a compilation of interviews and speeches given at different intervals between 1935 and 1939, it is remarkably coherent and consistent in the development of its ideas and arguments. Perhaps the chapter which will be of greatest interest to us is the first one, a lecture delivered at the Escola de Bellas Artes, September 28, 1935, entitled "Politics and Our Time." The remaining five chapters give an analysis of the New Constitution and its meaning and has less interest for the North American layman.

This first chapter points out the obvious fact that contemporary "liberal democracy" is bankrupt. As the author ironically observes: "The principle of individual liberty made the strong, stronger; and the weak, weaker. Yet the principle of individual liberty guarantees no one the right to work, to security, or an education." He also adds: "Parliamentary forms of political life are today destitute of all content and spiritual significance." The modern state and modern society are too complex to be run by a debating society; the masses are incompetent to pass upon the technical questions of government and economics. Hence suffrage should be restricted to those simple questions upon which the electorate is competent to pass judgment.

Economic questions, or political questions with a basically economic import, shall be solved by The National Economic Council. The old powers and duties, under the New Brazilian Constitution, of parliament have therefore been seriously curtailed. Unlike Nazi Germany Brazilians of both sexes still retain the right of suffrage, freedom of speech, assembly, and the press, but with certain limitations. The Supreme Court has no right to rule on the constitutionality of laws nor to review acts of the government. Its function is merely that of the highest court of appeal.

These innovations are necessary because contemporary problems require strong individual control of the masses. "There are no people today who are not clamoring for a Caesar." Which explains why the Brazilian Constitution concentrates so much power in the hands of the president. It is interesting to note that the Constitution (Art. 80) says that "The presidential term of office is six years." That one of the prerogatives of the President (Art. 75a) is "to nominate one of the candidates to the Presidency of the Republic." That the "President of the Republic, actually in office [Vargas], has his term renewed until the plebiscite, referred to in Article 187, takes place;" but then this plebiscite can be called only by the President (Art. 187). Very clever, eh? According to Article 73b the President also has power "to issue decree-laws, in accordance with Articles 12 and 13." But these Articles merely submit these decree laws to the approval of a parliament which is already controlled by the President.

In other words, the New Brazilian Constitution makes the president for all practical purposes the supreme ruler of the land. "It is not necessary to insist that the Brazilian State, while democratic, is at the same time totalitarian and authoritarian, supreme authority being vested in the President of the Republic, who exercises it in the name of the people and in the interest of their welfare." Parties and the regime are consolidated as in Germany and Italy. Space does not permit me, however, to go into full details about the Constitution of November, 1937, which is a very detailed document; nor into all the niceties of Campos' arguments. One thing is sure, the present Vargas regime is certainly not a fascist regime in the European sense. It seems Brazilian in conception and application. Only once does the author praise Hitler, and that is for Hitler's leadership of the masses and abolition of the *Reichstag* as a power in decisions of the state.

Neither the Brazilian Constitution nor *The National State* mentions the racial nonsense of the Nazis. There are references to "the Brazilian race" (*A raça brasileira*), but *race* is used in the sense of nationality. Many of Campos' suggestions and schemes are already an accepted part of our own New Deal albeit under strictly "democratic names." The book is brilliantly written and its arguments cogently advanced. Whether you agree with the author or not, his views and ideas are worth serious thought.

JAMES W. IVY

Letters to the Editor

Wants Defense Jobs

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—Those Americans who voted against the bill known as H.B. 445 (in the Indiana legislature) should hide their faces in shame. How do they expect a people to remain loyal and true when they deny them a right to make a decent living? We of the Negro race are here through no fault of our own, we were born here. We have made good citizens, good soldiers, and good workers. We pay taxes and we love America. But yet loyal Americans whom we help put in office would deny us the same right to make a living as they allow some communist, Nazi, and fascist. It is a known fact that there are some of the above mentioned in most of the factories and defense projects. But we are Americans who have never betrayed our country. The Negro has been loyal and true ever since he was brought to this country. Of course, we shall know who voted for and against the measure when the time comes to elect the next legislature. It seems to me that those who voted against the bill are themselves fifth columnists. The thing they did was to hinder the defense program.

Unless the American people let every loyal American work at his or her trade when all types of skilled labor are needed, they are an obstruction in the so-called bottleneck. What do you suppose the dictators think of people who practice the things they claim to hate? Give a true American a chance. Don't think because we are in the minority that we haven't contributed to the wealth and welfare of our country.

MCKINLEY BREWER

EDITOR'S NOTE: H.B. 445, in the Indiana legislature was a bill to prohibit the awarding national defense contracts that discriminated in the employment of workers.

Next Month

Winning essays in the college and high school divisions of the annual NAACP youth council competition.

Howard U. Union

(*Continued from page 223*)

had been paying dues in a union for two years without any tangible benefits. The union had done its best in what it knew to be an unusual and extraordinary situation. No one was to blame.

Prior to the April, 1941, meeting of the board, the union, in desperation, addressed letters to each member of the Board of Trustees urging upon them the necessity of considering the proposals of its employees at this meeting. Further, the union sought assistance from the Washington branch of the N.A.A.C.P., the Washington Urban League, the National Negro Congress, the Howard Teachers' Union and the Inter-denominational Ministers Alliance of Washington. Each of these organizations sent letters to Board members urging them to prompt action.

Your reporter has no way of knowing the absolute value of these last mentioned activities of the union, but it can be said that at its April 8, 1941, meeting the Board of Trustees of Howard University issued a set of regulations that exceeded the fondest expectations of any member of the union or any employee of Howard university.

Space will not permit a complete reprint of these regulations. Suffice it to say that the tenure of Howard University's non-teaching staff was extended from thirty days to one year; promotions from within were established; hours were set at forty-four per week, with time-and-one-half for over-time, double-time on Sundays and holidays; each employee with one year of service is to receive twenty-six days of annual leave, Sundays and holidays not included; persons dismissed for inefficiency will receive thirty days warning in order to improve their work; in the case of lay-off, employees receive thirty days notice including accrued leave; notice of all existing vacancies will be posted and any employee may offer himself for consideration without jeopardy to his present job.

Reclassification plans are being studied which will parallel federal civil service classification and Dr. Johnson says that he believes that the Federal Social Security Law will soon be amended to cover educational and other non-profit organizations. He approves such an amendment.

A standard five-member board for arbitrating grievances has been agreed to. This board will consist of two persons selected by the administration of the university, two selected by the employees, and an impartial chairman selected by these four members.

To this point this has been a factual, running account of what the writer regards as one of the most significant agreements ever concluded by a labor union. Though it affects less than 250 persons, it undoubtedly sets a pattern by which employees of other educational institutions and social agencies may improve their working conditions.

It is an example of cooperative action devoid of coercion. It exemplifies a new approach—a new trade union technique, as well as a new and broader administrative understanding.

Florida "Can't Take"

(*Continued from page 224*)

still retain the willingness and ability to look after women and children, even if Mr. Pegler or any of his rapine inclined associates don't believe it." . . . H. W. Mason, Sarasota.

"Too bad the adolescent, irresponsible and incorrigible citizens (I mean 'denizens') of this backwoods state don't form a combine, murder all of his kin, box them up and ship them." . . . "Cracker" By Choice, Tampa.

"A native of West Florida, I resent and challenge Pegler's article casting aspersions upon the intelligence and physical appearance of the natives of that part of the state. Not caring from what section of the United States, 'slum' or otherwise. Pegler may have originated, his absence from any community would be welcomed, like the destruction of a putrifying carcass in an incinerator." . . . Jos. E. Ritchie, Tampa.

"On your comment on Pegler's column on the Florida lynching, I have lived all my life in the Florida swamps and backwoods, I am in a better position to know the people and conditions than one who views them from afar. If it is true that the officer turned this Negro over to the lynching party, he is to be commended for rendering justice to all. I hope if ever they stage another nice, jolly lynching up there (for the same offense) they will give me the pleasure of being in on it." . . . Mrs. Maud Harvey, Leesburg.

"Mr. Pegler: In regards to lynching in north Florida, what have you to say of the fine people up there? There are no finer people anywhere, than those in north Florida. The Negro will go to them for a favor

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quicker than they will a Northerner any day. You had a lot to say about the suffering of this poor Negro before he was lynched but did not have a word to say of this poor little girl in the hands of this black brute." . . . Louis Harrell, Tampa.

"Lynching is murder, horrible and lawless, but every state has its undesirables. Why smear the entire population for the misdeeds of a few hot-heads?

"This is not his first attack on Florida. Can't help wondering where he goes when he visits our fine state. Just who are his associates? I am a native and I have found none such as he describes. I've often wondered if Pegler likes anyone." . . . Pamela, Starke.

"Christ shed His blood for the black man as well as the white man. We have courts which should judge all men equally. All mobs are murderers and should be punished as such, then they would cease. The mobsters committed the greater sin, and shall they go unpunished? Bring them to justice before history repeats itself." . . . A. C., Davenport.

"Open letter to Governor Holland: I second the urgent request of Bishop Wing that you suspend from office Sheriff Luten, of Quincy, who allowed a prisoner in his custody to be lynched, if your investigation shows him guilty of negligence in his duties as seems to have been the case.

"Today all Americans, whatever our attitudes toward American participation in the war, are appalled at the lawlessness of Hitler's government. Do we not realize that nazi slavery is based squarely on the denial of the human and legal rights of the individual, such as his right to trial by law? We Americans have an invaluable inheritance to safeguard the rights of the individual—every individual." . . . Alice A. Cramer, Tampa.

"Gutter-scum Columnist"

Senator Lewis (from Marianna) rose to oratorical heights (?) in his speech on Pegler, opening with the following choice paragraphs:

"As a result of this regrettable occurrence (the Quincy affair) a certain soul-sick, mud-wallowing, gutter-scum columnist by the name of Westbrook Pegler, with vicious and vitriolic pen has maliciously insulted the good people of north and west Florida, and all Florida and particularly the citizens of the fair city of Quincy.

"The alley-bat news sniper, among other things charges that north and west Florida was settled by people who were renegades of Georgia and Alabama, and deserters of the cause of the Confederacy. He charges that the citizenry are illiterate and no better than the rapist.

"Mr. President and senators, I resent with every particle of vigor that in me lies, this vile, cheap, unjustified, scurrilous, and scandalous attack upon us. . . ."

Paper "Deplores"

The Tampa *Tribune* denied the charge of State Senator Whitaker that it had apologized for carrying the Pegler column. The paper did carry an editorial, rather common in most southern papers after a lynching, entitled, "Another Blot on Florida." It also carried an editorial denouncing Pegler's column under the title, "Smearing a State" in which it takes the familiar line, "999 of every 1,000 Floridians deplore and denounce lynching in any of its forms," and "the Florida population ranks in right-thinking and respect for law and order with that of any state or region."

This editorial, like hundreds of similar ones in southern papers, chooses to ignore the obvious fact that if 999 persons out of every thousand sincerely and actively disapprove of a practice, that practice cannot exist. The "good people" of every community that has had a lynching are fond of "denouncing and deploring" but the fact—as attested by the history and statistics of lynching for the past 50 years—is that these good people not only *take no action* against lynching, but have resented and blocked any action sought to be taken by anyone else, including the federal government.

The further fact is that the record shows that Florida has staged 298 known lynchings in the past 50 years.

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